

# MISSOURI HISTORICAL REVIEW



JULY 1961

The Battle of Lexington

Published Quarterly By

The State Historical Society of Missouri

COLUMBIA, MISSOURI

## THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF MISSOURI

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# Missouri Historical Review

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*Editor*

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*Assistant Editor*

*Published Quarterly by*

THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY  
OF MISSOURI

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THE COVER: General Sterling Price, hoping to seize arms, supplies, and an important strategic point on the Missouri River, reached Lexington on September 12, 1861. Colonel James A. Mulligan and his Union troops, charged with defense of the city, entrenched on the hill on which Masonic College stood. Price ordered heavy firing on September 18, and Mulligan surrendered two days later when he lost hope for reenforcement and his water supply was depleted.

The cover picture, painted by an eyewitness, F. Dominico, a Hungarian exile, while the battle was in progress, is owned by The State Historical Society.



## A UNION BAND DIRECTOR VIEWS CAMP ROLLA: 1861

EDITED BY DONALD H. WELSH\*

One of the highly interesting Civil War items which has come to the Society recently is the journal kept by C. M. Chase at Rolla during the summer of 1861.

Charles Monroe Chase, born in Lyndon, Vermont, in 1829, graduated from Dartmouth College, Hanover, New Hampshire, in 1853. After teaching music and studying law in Cincinnati, he moved to Sycamore, Illinois, in 1856. Chase was admitted to the bar in 1857 and joined Jacob A. Simons in practice from 1858 to 1862, serving at the same time as police magistrate and as leader of a brass band. During this period he also edited the Sycamore *DeKalb County Sentinel*.

On July 2, 1861, Chase and ten members of his band enlisted in the Thirteenth Illinois Infantry on a special three-month contract. The group left Sycamore on July 8, 1861, and Chase quickly enrolled five additional men, as his contract called for a band of 16 pieces. In his journal, which begins on July 21 and closes shortly after the band's discharge on October 10, Chase comments freely on army life and on the Rolla community, where he spent nearly the entire time.

In 1863 Chase joined the staff of the Sycamore *True Republican & Sentinel* as Kansas correspondent, and in 1865 he returned to his birthplace to establish the *Vermont Union*, which he continued to edit until his death in 1902.

The 1861 journal is published through the courtesy of its owner, the author's daughter, Miss N. Louise Chase, of New London, Connecticut, who earlier loaned the Society ten letters written from Rolla by her father during the same period. The original text is retained with changes in spelling and punctuation only where needed for clarity.

Camp Rolla Phelps Co. Mo. Sunday July 21, 1861

One week ago last Monday night the Sycamore Brass Band left Sycamore to join Col Wymans 13th Illinois Regiment, at that time encamped at Caseyville Illinois. . . .<sup>1</sup>

\*Donald H. Welsh, Ph.D., is assistant editor of the *Missouri Historical Review*.

<sup>1</sup>Colonel John B. Wyman commanded the 13th Illinois Infantry during the first months of the war.



Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper, February 1, 1862

### A View of Rolla and the Fort

When we arrived in camp we . . . were in a poor condition to appear on parade, but we *did* appear, and made some bunglers work, both in marching and in playing.

To day it has rained almost constantly. I have been out of the tent but once or twice. Have written three or four letters. We have not played a note on the horns during the day. We were excused from guard mounting this morn, and to night Dress parade was omitted on account of the rain, and our practice we have omitted.

I cannot help thinking of the difference in camp and home life. Here we are content with simple necessities, or even much less. Our fare here has consisted of hard crackers and pork with coffee, and sometimes cooked in a manner which could not be swallowed anywhere else except in camp. Our quarters are not the most comfortable. Sixteen of us quartered in a round tent 14 feet in diameter, without a chair or table, yet we get *along*. Nights sixteen in a bed is rather too thick for comfort. One man cant turn over without turning over the whole crowd like a pancake.

Since we arrived here there have been two dances in town, with ladies belonging to men and officers in the enemies army; they seem tolerably well pleased with the Union Soldiers. Harsha<sup>2</sup> and I played Base and Barytone for the music.

Today two companies from this regiment returned to camp after 4 days scouting bring 25 prisoners, and about 30 horses. One man captured was a captain in the Secession army. Some of the boys spoke insultingly to him as the scouting party halted. He replied *firmly*—"I am a soldier unarmed; dont you insult me in my presence." It was a good reply and convinced me that he was a man. This regiment is considered one of the best from Illinois. Everyone

<sup>2</sup>Mort E. Harsha was "1st Barytone" in the Sycamore Band.

likes Col. Wyman, and all his officers. . . . It is now nearly nine o'clock, the boys are all abed, or stretched out upon the ground with their shawls around them trying to go to sleep. Ill follow.

Monday morning July 22 1861

We had boiled potatoes, fried pork, hard crackers for breakfast this morning. The potatoes were quite a treat. At eight this morn We performed duty, mounting guard. It is this. We play one quickstep for the guard to march onto the ground, then a waltz or whatever we please for inspection of arms. Then a slow march and march to the head of the guard, then turn, cheer and march back to place on a quickstep. Then a short quickstep to march the guard off. The boys want to get off this duty as it consists of the same thing as dress parade. Our regular duty at mounting Guard and Dress parade requires nine tunes per day. After mounting guard we proceeded to the court house and drilled an hour and a half. Life not very good. Perhaps we are overdoing the thing. But most of the boys are good grit, and determined to persevere. Harsha wants to go home, and the more he wants to go home the sicker he grows. It is supposed that this regiment will march West next Wednesday. Mort is growing worse fast since the report. He don't intend to go any farther away from home than he is now, if he can help it, and if consumption, bellyache or anyother disease will save him he will have it.

Tuesday, July 23, 1861. Camp Rolla Mo.

The Band have done their duty well to day. Practice went off better than usual, and parade duty was done without a mistake. In our practice we divided up the parts and drilled separately for some time, and when the whole played the improvement was very manifest. Today the Sandwich Co. have had a fuss with the Colonel.<sup>3</sup> They have hitherto carried rifles. Today a new lot of muskets arrived and the Col. demanded their rifles and gave them muskets. They unanimously refused to receive them. The Col told them to take them or every man of them would go to St Louis arsinial. They concluded to go. They did not appear on dress parade tonight. Some of the boys I learn this evening have been frightened into receiving muskets. Today I wrot a letter of eight pages and tonight I cant find it.

<sup>3</sup>Sandwich is in northeastern Illinois, about 20 miles south of Sycamore.

After practice this P.M. I stopped at the court house to arrange music. This is a big job on my hands—making new parts for three new instruments—tunes nearly two hundred—

Camp Rolla July 25 1861

To day we had company at dress parade. This morning at 5 o'clock the band got up and marched a mile and a half west and met Col. Brown's<sup>4</sup> regiment returning from Springfield. The men had been several days marching, and on 1/3 rations, so that they looked pretty hard. The Col. was a classmate of Henry's<sup>5</sup> in Yale College. His head covered with red hair and whiskers is a fine mark to shoot at. At dress parade the Col. requested the band to black their boots, and slick up generally, as he was going to have Col. Brown & staff as spectators on parade. I believe every man in the regiment had his boots blacked, his hair combed, and his weapon in the finest time. The band called them on to parade with No. 29, new books, a heavy quickstep and well executed; then we beat off with Marsailles hymn for slow march to march to the head of the regiment. We had had good drill on the piece, and there was not a mistake made going up excepting Bowers,<sup>6</sup> 1st Tuber, fell over a stump and pitched full length into the middle rank. He recovered himself however and went on in good order. But after turning and giving the cheers, the band presented a scene rather amusing to spectators. The lead struck up "Ruso Atherton," and the time was too fast for quickstep and too slow for a march. Some of the boys took one step and some another. I noticed Lewis,<sup>7</sup> a short legged E<sup>b</sup> player, switching off into march time spreading himself at full capacity to keep up on the slow step. He looked like a little bantam rooster trying to take Shanghai steps which was rather awkward business. I followed Dow up in quickstep time which was a Shanghai taking the step of a bantam. Each player would change his step two or three times, while some hopped off irregularly, giving up in despair trying to get the correct step. We got together at last, and arrived at our places in a great state of perspiration, and embarrassment. At 8 o'clock we played a few pieces on the parade ground. Afterwards we went down to the depot (1/2 mile) and

<sup>4</sup>Colonel Benjamin Gratz Brown had command of the Fourth Missouri Infantry, United States Reserve Corps.

<sup>5</sup>Henry Chase was a brother of Charles M. Chase. Brown graduated from Yale in 1847.

<sup>6</sup>Bowers was added to the band after its arrival in camp.

<sup>7</sup>Lewis Dow had been a member of the Sycamore Band.

listened to the music from Siegels<sup>8</sup> band, just from Springfield. Clarinets, Ophicleids,<sup>9</sup> picilos &c &c. They play finely. His snare Drummer cant be beat.

Camp Rolla, Friday July 26th 1861

To day has been a season of camps excitement. A few days since two of our companies were sent west to guard a train of provisions going to Springfield for Gen Lyon's<sup>10</sup> forces. We got word today that a large force of secessionists at the Gasconade river 15 miles distance had surrounded them and taken the train and companies. Now other companies were immediately dispatched to the point. Two more companies were also out in different directions scouting, leaving in camp only four companies, two of which were required in guard duty, leaving our dress parade supplied by only two companies. Towards night it began to be suspected that the enemy had been drawing us into a snare by getting our force principally out of camps, and that before day light an attack by at least a thousand cavalry would be made upon us. This belief kept strengthening as night drew on. Late in the evening there was a great inquiry for muskets. Particularly by the band members who were entirely unarmed. As we were sitting in our tent, about nine o clock, the guard opposite us said word had been passed round the guard that a thousand regiment of secessionists were within two miles of the camp marching to attack us. In our comparatively weak condition, that report naturally created a sensation. The guard were all awake and keeping close watch, which was a little unusual for them. The officers were in close conclave. The drummers were at their posts ready to give the call "To arms." Soon, *bang* went one of the guns of the guard. Then another. Every man rose to his feet and seized his weapon, and breathlessly waited for the drummers. The drummers waited for the third gun, which was their signal to give the alarm call, but the third gun was not fired. The guard were confident they fired at men skulking near their posts. Soon word was passed round camp that no man should leave his quarters till summoned by the drum. Three of us of the band had been presented with muskets and cartridges, which we loaded, and lay them on our blankets. As we go to bed, we do so expecting to be called at any moment. It is very

<sup>8</sup>At this time Colonel Franz Sigel commanded the Second Brigade of Missouri Volunteers.

<sup>9</sup>An ophicleide is a deep-toned, brass wind instrument with a large tapering tube bent double.

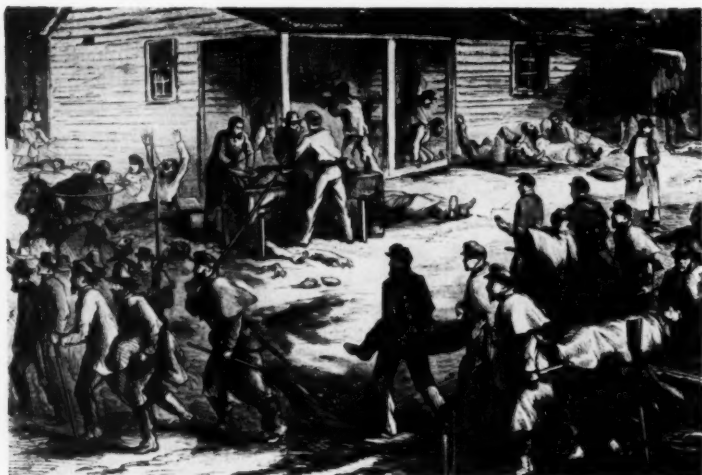
<sup>10</sup>Brigadier General Nathaniel Lyon commanded the Army of the West.

dark and the idea of an attack on such a night seems a little scary but, we "take things as they come" and do the best we can.

Saturday July 27 1861

All night. After a nights sound and comfortable sleep, wake up *alive*, and well. Nary "Secher" had molested our camps and I presume none had been within ten miles of it. The gun was still loaded and just where I placed it last night. I really believed last night that before daylight I should have the exquisite pleasure of boring a big hole plumb through somebody, and perhaps getting my own shoulder kicked off, for one man in company E who saw me load the musket and ram the cartridge, said "*he would rather be at the muzzle than at the breech when the old thing went off.*" But he couldn't scare me talking about the breech. I'd rather have a hundred kicks than one regular "go-through," which the man at the muzzle would be apt to get.

Yesterday evening a party of 15 Home Guards were at work harvesting fifteen miles east of Camp Rolla, and were attacked by a company of Secessionist numbering about fifty. One Lieutenant on each side was killed, and several wounded. Three wounded Secessionists and two of the Home Guards were brought into our hospital.



Harper's Weekly, December 27, 1862

A Civil War Field Hospital

They looked sorry enough, and to my mind, presented the first real picture of the horrors of war I have seen during my stay in Camp Rolla. The secessionists were shot, one through the knee, another through the arm above the elbow, the third in the arm and breast. At eight I witnessed the amputation of the legs and arms of the two first mentioned. The one shot through the knee will probably die, as mortification had set in before amputation. The one of the Home Guards as his arm was taken off said, it would not prevent his fighting. He considered himself still good for *any one* secessionist. To day Alden is sick. Someone of the boys seems to be ailing all the time. Bond, the 2 B<sup>b</sup> tenor is off scouting, deserting his post, neglecting his duty to gratify his curiosity.<sup>11</sup> Something interferes with band practice almost every day. . . .

Sunday July 28th

The Chaplain told us this morning that he should expect the attendance of the band at service this morning. In accordance with his expectation we attended, and opened service with "Columbia The Gem of the Ocean" on the band. After prayer we sang America, and after Sermon played "Star Spangled Banner." Last Sunday after dress parade we serenaded the camp with a few polkas and quicksteps. We almost forgot it was Sunday. In camp we actually need some one to remind us when the Holy Sabbath comes round. Our duties are every day alike. Here there are drills, parades, martial music, and other warlike movements. Query: If war requires the violation of the Sabbath, can war be right, and will God protick either side of warlike hosts, as is always argued.

After church this morning several of us went over to the court house to write. The builder of the building has given the band the entire charge of it, and we use it as a place to practice and write. There are two law offices in our [quarters] belonging to a Secesher, which we have appropriated, together with what few books and papers it contains. While writing there this afternoon, a dead man was brought in, who had just been killed by being run over by a large wagon. Externally there was scarcely a mark on the man but inwardly he was smashed generally. He was one of Uncle Sam's teamsters. Dead men create no excitement in this crowd. The men who were wounded yesterday brot into camp are doing well. The one with his leg amputated may get well. There is a chance for him.

<sup>11</sup>P. M. Alden, Eb Soprano, and N. O. Bond were former members of the Sycamore Band.



One of the prisoners brought in wounded yesterday was formerly sworn in as a Home Guard. His desertion may go hard with him. The Col. says he may as well prepare to meet his God.

To night three of the companies, A. E. I., who have been scouting, in the vicinity of the Gasconade returned bringing 13 prisoners and the contents of a store with several horses and other property. One of the prisoners is six feet and six inches high, and looks warlike.

#### Monday July 29th

Wrote a march to day and in our drill played it but didnt like it very much. Thermometer has stood 94° in the shade and 110° in the sun. The sun seems heavy, almost crushing. . . . I have but one shirt to my name, having lost all my baggage before reaching St. Louis. I am now wearing a blue woolen shirt, furnished by government, a coarse looking article it is too.

To night companies C, H, & K returned bringing wagons, horses, sheep, guns, goods &c, &c a Jackass worth \$2,000.00, and eight or ten prisoners. Company K and the Home Guards living some ten miles South East had a skirmish with some Secessionists. Our Union man Home Guard was killed and brought into camp. The company K says that several of the other side were wounded, and that they saw them fall from horses and crawl into the woods. Recd a very short letter tonight from Henry.

#### Friday August 2d, 1861

Nothing special has transpired in camp since the 29th of July. The Band continues to exist, and progress though encountering many obstacles in the way of good practice. Dow 2 E<sup>b</sup> has been sick and unfit for service for three days. He is now *beginning* to do duty and the 1st E flat is *caving*, going into the pill business so extensively that he has not the *bottom* to blow *safely*. Further more the 1st Base last night sprained his little toe, so that travelling over to the court house was considered entirely out of the question. Other members of the band have tried to *hunt* up some ailing, as an excuse to get out of practice. It is a tedious thing for me to drill the band when interest and ambition fags. . . . But I will drop this strain, go to bed and sleep and feel more hopeful and encouraged in the morning I hope.



Saturday August 3d, 1861

The great complaint of the day is "heat." For several days past thermometer has been about 95°. Some days as high as 107. It boils out ambition and enterprise rapidly. No rain since a week ago last Sunday.

Practice to day has been more interesting. Boys took hold with more zeal, and all were out save Alden who is now able to be about, but not to *blow*. We adopted a rule that any one absent from our drills or tardy should pay a fine of 25 cents. This, we hope, will secure attendance.

The camp rumor to day is that Judge McBride,<sup>12</sup> who sits as Judge in Rolla Court House, is within three days march of this camp coming to attack it. I am about done investing extensively in camp reports. When this camp is attacked I shall believe the fact unless I labor under the impression that I am dreaming. Camp is just the place for news, particularly false news. Most of the boys are having what they call "touches of the belly ache" occasionally, a kind of disease which doubles them up. It results from drinking too much Missouri water. The water may not be really bad, but the amount of water drank by most of them is certainly anything but healthy. We sweat so profusely that thirst is created, and it is hardly possible to get water enough into the system to quench it. Several days I have been miserable with said "touch of the belly ache," and to day it has been one of the hardest things to smile on account of this same thing. . . .

Sunday August 4th

I was amused last night. At about 1 o'clock I was up in the tent and was startled by a report of one of the guards guns, but was more startled by Tennis<sup>13</sup> popping into the tent, as if he had been shot from the mouth of a cannon. But, had occasion to go out and get some fresh air, and just as he was returning one of the guards next to our tent fired his gun at some one on the outside of his beat. Tennis supposed he was shot and one motion landed him in the middle of the tent with each particular hair standing on end. He waited a minute for the smart of the wound, but he didnt feel it. So he dropped himself upon his blanket, With G—d Charlie, war is a

<sup>12</sup>Judge James McBride of the circuit court left this position in the summer of 1861 to assume a command under General Sterling Price, C. S. A. See Clair V. Mann, *Yesterday Lives Again* (Rolla, 1957), 73.

<sup>13</sup>D. B. Tennis, Bb Tenor, had been in the Sycamore Band.

tough institution. A man never knows when he is safe, and half the time he dont know he is shot till he has been dead an hour."

Heat intense to day. 100°. Attended duties as usual, excepting practice. Attend dinner service this eve, played Hail Columbia, & played Hymn. One of the Home Guards, wounded in the skirmish a fortnight ago died today. The others are doing well. The one legged secessionist will recover.

#### Monday August 5th 1861

Intensely warm all day. Attended duty as usual. At the afternoon rehearsal Tennis 1st B<sup>b</sup> was absent. He appeared at supper and informed us that he had made \$3. repairing watches, in fact, that he had established a jewelry shop in town and that a customer came as he was about to go to the rehearsal. I talked to him a few minutes about the object of our coming here, our business, our *only* business, our duty, *whole* duty to the band, the danger of directing our interests, the evil of bad example &c,&c. . . .

As we were rehearsing word came that we must play at a funeral of the Home Guard who died last night. When we arrived on the ground the coffin & corpse were there but no grave, and they were an hour and a half digging it. Report to night of a battle began between McCulloch and Lyons at Springfield & fear for Lyons.<sup>14</sup>

#### Tuesday August 6th 1861

Great anxiety to day to hear from Springfield. Some think Lyons will be defeated and that McCulloch will immediately advance to take this point. Rumors are all out that Lyons has carried the day though with great loss.

Practice went off well. Every day the boys improve. To day we took in a boy named Holt to play 2d Barytone. He seems at home with a brass instrument, and reads as readily as any man in the band, and is doubtless the best *natural* musician among them, and I *think* a good worker which is of the utmost importance.

Last night the guards shot their guns off once or twice but as usual hit nothing and produced no effect save arousing the Colonel and a few other officers. . . .

<sup>14</sup>This rumor preceded the Battle of Wilson's Creek on August 10, but the troops at Rolla knew of the presence of Brigadier General Ben McCulloch, C. S. A., in Southwest Missouri.

Wednesday Aug 7th 1861

To night at Dress parade we played Dixie, a piece which I arranged last Saturday. I am much pleased with the arrangement and think the boys played it well. After rehearsal this morning, I went to the Depot and witnessed arrival of the Irish Brigade<sup>15</sup> consisting of about 1200 men from Boonville, or who have been quartered at Booneville during the past three months. They are a rough set of fellows. After marching from the Depot to their camp ground & formed in order of Battle, a couple of the soldiers got to fighting. The Major who was in command rushed at them. Whereupon one of them cursed him. The Major threatened to cut off his head, the soldier threw off his neck tie, and rushed at the Major with a G-d—you cut it off. Id rather die decently than be imposed upon." The Major rushed at him with drawn sword and and I really expected to see the mans head fall but it didnt drop.

We adopted another Band rule today that any man who leaves the practice room during practicing time should be fined 25 cents. Three of the boys got fined .25 to day for not being present when their names were called though they were just at the outside door. This strictness I am sure will ensure regularity in attendance. To night we serenaded the Drum Major, and then went in to his tent. Took whisky and "gingerbread." The major is a man about 28 years old, just married to a pretty and harmless little woman who has taken it into her head to follow him to the war. "Bully for her." She asked 1st B. if I was married, and being told no, said she didnt think half so much of me as before She knew that fact. "Bully for me." We have introduced another rule lately in the band, to play evenings after parade three or four good pieces to amuse the camp. Every day the band improves. I stood off tonight and listened and am satisfied band practice pays well, very well. The Lieutenant-Col. Gorgis<sup>16</sup> is a good flutist. In a conversation with him to night he expressed a strong desire to have me bring my flute here and practice with him.

Thursday August 8th 1861

Two weeks ago last Sunday night came our last rain. Since that time, not one drop; the criks are dry and the wells very low. Nearly

<sup>15</sup>The Seventh Missouri Infantry, commanded by Colonel John D. Stevenson, was often referred to as the Irish Seventh.

<sup>16</sup>Lieutenant Colonel A. B. Gorgas assumed command of the 13th Illinois in 1861 after Wyman was promoted to Acting Brigadier General.

a half mile our people have to go for water. Our mess of sixteen use about 16 pails full daily, which keeps some one constantly running for water. The heat has been intense, over 100° in the shade during the middle of the day. Nights however have been comfortable. . . .

Practice to day has gone off finely, Every man (16) present, and in working order the first time in a month; Alden commenced to blow to day, But is getting a little feeble, or else is tolerating too much side interest in the shape of watch and clock business. The boy Holt, our new member, is going to make a fine band member. He plays well and is industrious and attentive. To night we "went down" on "Lord Hardwick's March" a piece which I arranged for the band some three years ago, and when blown out full is excellent as a slow march. We have spent most of the time at the Court House, I writing new parts for our music, some playing cards and others whittling out pipes. By the way, In digging a well, the soldiers have thrown out a soft stone which grows very hard after exposure. Some call it Soap stone; it is capable of great things. But our boys have spent the day in making pipes. Bond has nearly finished one which he says I can have a share in. Played whist to night. . . .

Saturday August 10th 1861

Rained most of the forenoon; omitted our practice in consequence. But this afternoon, we had a good rehearsal. There were too many spectators to suit me. Nearly the entire company of home Guards, Men, women, and children, from miles around, have come to the Court House to hear our practice. I don't know how many have heard us who never saw a brass horn before, but there are many. As I was taking my horn out of the Court House to night I met one young man 19 or 20 years old, who wanted me to give him a "band of music." "Did you ever see a brass horn before?" "No sir." "Cant imagine how it sounds can you?" Wal, I spose right smart." "Well" said I "you come over to Dress parade to night and you will hear us." He came and was no doubt astonished. There were several hundred spectators at Dress parade tonight. The Band acquitted themselves well.

Report is in circulation to day that we are soon to march, some think to Springfield, some Birds point. Lyons according to last accounts was engaged with the enemy at Springfield, and if reports comes that we are needed there there will be a "double quick" movement from this camp in Hot Haste.

Our Col. amused me last night very much. He was sleeping in the Surgeons tent not ten feet from ours. We were talking rather loud and he sent word to us to stop as he was tired and wished to sleep. He also sent the same request to a captain in a tent just north of us. We of course complied, but in the other tent talking continued. The Col. stood it nearly an hour. I was nearly asleep, and was awoke by the Colonel yelling at the top of his voice as follows: "Stop that G--d d- talking. Ive laid here, by J-s Ch-t, an hour, sweating like a d-d great bull, hearing that G-d d-d talk. I sent you a word an hour ago to stop your d-d talking, if you cant obey orders youd better go home." The surgeon thought he ment the band and *gently* said it was not the band boys; "I dont care a G-d d-m who tis. It is no worse for them to obey orders than it is for me; a set of d-d great men well brot up at home, come down here and act like a pack of G-d d-d boys"—

We thought he meant us and I got my mouth open to fire into him but didn't let off.

Sunday August 11, 1861

This morning attended divine service, chaplain Miller conducting. The chaplain told us to play several tunes before meeting & to make our own selection. We played the national tunes and a church tune. Meetings are held in the street of some of the companies. At the close of service the preacher gave notice that there would be a temperance meeting near his tent this evening and wanted every one to attend. He is making great effort to reform the drunkards in camp which is a work as *great* as it is good.

Today One Dutton gets his commission as captain of company F in place of Z. B. Mayo resigned.<sup>17</sup> On the strength of it we boys took the capt down to the Brewery to beer us up. We got there late, found no beer. The Dutchman was abed, but we aroused him and got some water; by the way his well gives sulphur water, and is very convenient as a watering place. In some localities it would be a place of general resort. But here sulphur water is common. This soil abounds in minerals of divers sorts. . . .

Monday August 12, 1861

Quite cool all day. Last night at Dress parade the Col. told the boys to drop afternoon drills, and go to *grubbing* trees, roots &c,&c,

<sup>17</sup>Z. B. "Bing" Mayo, captain of the Sycamore Company, resigned as a result of a petition prepared by his men. See C. M. Chase, *Camp Rolla*, to Henry Chase, Lyndon, Vermont, July 30, 1861, typescript copy in manuscript collection of The State Historical Society of Missouri.

to prepare ground for battalion drill. To day the work commenced, Each company detailing ten men for the work. One hundred days work has already been done and well done; in three or four days ten or twelve and perhaps twenty acres will be finely prepared for the purpose. . . .

For several days past we have been living chiefly on fried hard crackers and fried pork. We have drawn no flour. This living is rather more solid than agreeable. I have hankered for a mouthful of something good. To day we made a swap of some bakon and got a pan full of fine baked beans, a rare treat for this company. I ate as if it were my last meal, and really I was more than half of the opinion that it would be my last decent one in sometime to come. Recd 6 papers from R. Thomas.

Tuesday August 13th 1861

Another day of camp excitement and anxiety: A messenger has arrived from Springfield bringing word that Lyons army is defeated by McCullochs host, that Lyon is killed and several other good Union officers, and that our army is retreating for this place. McCulloch and Price are also reported to be killed. The exact numbers engaged and the killed and wounded on each side is not



*F. O. C. Darley Engraving*

**General Lyon's Charge at the Battle of Wilson's Creek**

yet known. It is said that the rebel force exceeds 25,000. Our force is about six thousand. About 2000 rebels are killed and wounded, and 800 of ours. Twenty of our regiment who were engaged in the fight say it was one of the hardest fought battles we have yet had. Siegle is now retreating, and the enemy pursuing the fight still continues, and they think will continue till Siegle reaches this point.<sup>18</sup> This noon the P. Master at Springfield arrived bringing all the stage horses and property, between here and Springfield along with him. Many Union men have left Springfield and arrived here. One old Doctor told me he had resided there 24 years, was well known in the S.W. part of the State and had left his wife, eight niggers and much other property which he expected would be sacraficed. His wife requested him to leave his property relying upon her to save it. But he seems satisfied that it is all lost.

The news of Lyons defeat produced great excitement here. The slaughter was wholesale, and convinces our boys that this war is no boys play.

We anticipate an attack tonight from McBride's force of 3000, and we dont know but Gen. Pillow<sup>19</sup> is nearly ready to attack us. It is supposed that between McCulloch at Springfield and Pillow in the South East there was to be concert of action, Lyons attacking McCulloch, and Pillow, Rolla at the same time. Such being the case Pillow may be a little late but still coming. We have a force of 2000, the 13th Ill. and the 7th Mo. That is hardly sufficient to make a great defense, particularly as we have no canon. There is a strong smell of powder in the atmosphere, and unless we are reinforced it will I fear be too strong for us. The Col. has distributed five rounds of cartridges to each soldier and told them to be ready to use them.

Wednesday August 14th 1861

Lieutenant Beardsley with twenty men of this regiment who were in the Springfield fight, returned to day. Beardsley was in the thickest of the fight, and had one ball pass through the breast of his coat, and a cut in his coat sleeve. He was near Lyon when he fell. He reports that we had about 7000 men in the fight and the enemy about 20,000—that we lost about 800 and the enemy about 5,000, that Siegle is retreating and with his canon doing great execution in

<sup>18</sup>This was probably the first actual report of the Battle of Wilson's Creek. August 10, 1861, to reach Rolla. McCulloch and Price survived the battle, but secession forces did not press Sigel's retreat. Lyon's force totaled 5,400 men, while McCulloch had nearly 11,000. The casualties, about equally divided between the two forces, totaled over 2,500, nearly one-sixth of those engaged.

<sup>19</sup>Major General Gideon J. Pillow, C. S. A., commanding Department No. 2.



the ranks of the enemy— He says we must look out for warm times here and that right away, that they are bent on taking Rolla. Harder<sup>20</sup> is also said to be advancing on us from the South with 10,000 men. McBride with about 3,000 is also somewhere in this region. It looks smokey all round us; what it will end in is uncertain. We have been considerably alarmed. Last night three or four horsemen came in hot haste into our camp and informed us that we must look out for a fight very soon, as Sigel's force was coming pursued by 40,000 of the enemy, who had been reinforced and were going to attack us as soon as they could reach us. This looked like fight, sure enough. Col Wyman immediately dispatched ingine to St. Louis to Gen. Fremont<sup>21</sup> for reinforcements. At 3 o'clock, three trains arrived from St Louis bringing the 14 & 15th Illinois regiments and a train of baggage. But this force only makes us 4,000 here. Sigel will arrive with 5,000 making in all only 9,000 unless more arrive from St Louis, which is rather insufficient to resist the expected 40,000. The Major told me to day that this was the most important point in the State next to St Louis, and that in his opinion the enemy would take it if possible.<sup>22</sup> I had a little curiosity to know what would be done with the band in an engagement. Major said it would be in the center of the regiment just behind the colors. This is not the most secure position, as the canon generally aim at the colors. We shall stand a good chance to hear from them if they take good aim.

This afternoon Walter Lewis<sup>23</sup> and I walked about a mile out of camp to an orchard. We hoped to return loaded with fruit, but found that the soldiers had taken everything any where near ripe. We called into the owners house and got into conversation with the family which consisted of father, mother and a boy and a half dozen girls, ages from 10 to 20— The young ones were frightened about the soldiers, expected to be severely dealt-with sometime. The old gent had lived here 20 years. Was always peaceable, had never had a fist fight or a quarrel. He hoped to die without being connected with any wars, but his lot was cast right on a battle field. Even his own farm he expected would be a battle field before long, and little he expected would be left for him except the soil. People

<sup>20</sup>Brigadier General William J. Hardee, C. S. A.

<sup>21</sup>Major General John C. Fremont commanded the Department of the West from his headquarters in St. Louis at this stage in the war.

<sup>22</sup>Rolla, as terminal of the Pacific Railroad, was an important point for the distribution of men and materiel and a communications center for much of Missouri.

<sup>23</sup>Walter E. Lewis played the bass drum in the Sycamore Band.



are arriving here from Springfield, fleeing before the approach of the enemy, and women and children are leaving Rolla, in anticipation of a battle here. The women of this regiment also left this morning, though some of them expressed a wish to stay and share the fate of their husbands.

Thursday August 15 1861

The prospect for an immediate battle to day seems somewhat diminished. Some say that Sigel is not pursued by the rebels, but that they have fallen back on Springfield, with the intention of



*Alonso Chappel Painting*

**General Franz Sigel**

of marching to Jefferson City; that Sigel is retreating to this place is certain; he will be here or near here, encamped, this week, and that a battle will soon take place here seems very probable. Our men are ordered to hold themselves in readiness to respond to the call "to arms." Two cannon are planted on an eminence a mile and a half west, overlooking an extent of country nearly thirty miles. They are six-pounders, but manned by experienced artillerists and in their position can do great damage to the enemy. The 14th & 15th Illinois are encamped in the basin of land a half mile or a mile west of the canon. Any approach of the enemy from the west will be duly notified to our Regiment. But situated as we are here we feel the necessity of a much larger force and more canon and at least a few companies of cavalry. The limit of

our cavalry force is a part of a company of home Guards who are encamped just in our rear, only a stone's throw in the distance. Cavalry and artillery are what make the big strokes in war, and with both, if we are rightly informed, the enemy are well supplied.

I witnessed a fight to day on a small scale, which, anywhere else except in camp would be considered severe. I noticed one soldier following another with a stone. The one followed kept running and trying to avoid the other, but patience soon became *virtueless*, and he turned upon him. When they met, the man with the stone went to the ground as quick as though he had been shot. The man struck him four times in the face after he fell. When I reached him his head presented the appearance of a chunch of raw beef. He received a cut two inches long from the forehead down the left side of his left eye, and another very deep cross cut in the left cheek. He was in a bad state take him as a whole. One incident in the fight exhibited a good specimine of the irish. A brother Irishman rushing up, and seeing his brother down and bloody, was greatly aroused, and demanded in angry tones "who in the name of St Patrick, did that bloody deed." "I know" said the whipped Irishman "why he struck, the d-d spalpeen, it is because I wont be a d-d roman Catholic," Serves you right you d-d protestent," said his noble minded sympathizer.

The business of grubbing out trees and bushes to make ground for battalion drill goes bravely on. The 7th Ill. which is encamped a quarter or eighth of a mile on our right has joined in the work. Two hundred men are constantly at work there. They are preparing all the ground between the two camps.

During the past fortnight, the principle inquiry here has been, "Where is the pay master"? Every day he has arrived but till to day has not been seen. Today he really did appear, and commenced paying off the troops. Big drunks are beginning. Out of 4000, 400 will be drunk before tomorrow night unless something is done.

Friday August 16th 1861

Men, women and children, with all their movable effects are beginning to pour into town from Springfield, leaving well stocked farms and everything save what they could conveniently bring with them. They flee before the approach of their enemy, leaving their property to supply their enemies wants. Sigle has arrived within six miles and gone into camp, with about six thousand men. We are now about 10,000 and feel a little more secure than we did a day or two since, though if report is true that 40,000 of the enemy are threatening us, this force is insufficient to resist their march. Unless Fremont hurries up his cakes we lose Rolla. The to nights

paper states that all the Ill. and Ind. troops are ordered to reinforce Fremont, Missouri at present is the exciting field. The next "tall fighting" will be in this state, and perhaps at this point. But I dont like the idea of getting whipped every time. Our folks must make up to the idea that they have something to do. An enemy to fight who are their equals in everything. This talk about whipping the South before breakfast is silly nonsense, and I am surprised that men of mind should throw out such insinuations. In times of war with other nations we have always been proud of her strength and bravery. Now that she has turned her arms against us, it is unwise to forget her former position. But we northerners are wise in our own conceit, and seem to act or talk as though we composed the sum total of the American nation. Recent events have opened some blind eyes, and humbled some proud heads, and I think taught our presumptive and boasting Northerners a lesson. They are beginning to look this war in the face, and to calculate on decent resistance to their arms.

Liquor has flowed freely to day. The 7th Mo. are composed mostly of Irishmen. This morning they were drunk by the dozen and fighting in squads. The doggeries in Rolla were all full and waiting for pay day to come when they might reap a rich harvest from the soldiers. But this fornoon their prospect of gain was suddenly stopped. A captain at the head of thirty or forty men was ordered to pour out all the liquor in town, and they did their work thoroughly. In each place they found from ten to twenty barrels of whisky beer &c.&c. At the Wilson Retreat near the Court House I saw some dozen barrels knocked in the head. One soldier as he was ordered to empty a dimijon of fine wine, commenced his business, but seeing the liquor flowing to the ground, raised the muzzle to his mouth and turned it inside. The Captain seeing the manner of his emptying the liquor knocked, with the ax, the old dimijon into a thousand pieces. Others of the soldiers dipped the liquor from the gutter as it was flowing by them. The thirsty fellows looked upon the scene as a poor waste of desirable property.

Saturday August 17th 1861

This morning after Guard mounting, Frank the Dutchman,<sup>24</sup> our 2d E<sup>b</sup> player came up to us with a pass from the Col. to St. Louis, telling us he was going home, that his wife was sick and he must go. I asked him why he didnt let us know last night when

<sup>24</sup>Frank Kimmerlee of the Sycamore Band.

he recd his letter of four pages foolscap from his dying wife, written in a steady and plain hand that he was going home. He said he thought we would make a fuss and not let him go. The truth is he supposed we would see the Col. and prevent his getting a pass. So he was very shy till he got the desired paper. His going adds another drawback to our band. We had just got our number complete, and by all means needed the E<sup>b</sup>—three of them at least. I never was more bothered in keeping up drilling. Almost ever day some new disappointment comes up. One man runs away. Another engages in some other business and wants to escape practicing. Another eats green apples and gets the belly ache. Another grows lame in the hip and cant do duty on parade. A few want to play cards, a few want to whittle out pipes and play things out of stone, and the balance want to do any thing else except practise their music. . . .

To day the 1st Iowa Regiment, which was in the Springfield fight, left here for home. They occupied every inch of room on a large train of cars, top and bottom. The 14th & 15th Illinois have encamped one mile west of here on the Springfield road; a portion of Sigels force have arrived and encamped a half mile west of them. . . .

Sunday August 18 1861

This morning after Guard mounting at 9 o clock, the band played



*Knox, Camp-fire and Cotton-field*

**General Sigel's Transportation in the Missouri Campaign**

for general inspection, which consisted of marching all the companies onto the parade ground, "unpacking knapsacks," exposing them to the view of the officers—repacking and marching off—the performance occupied about a half hour. After this performance the boys scattered in various directions to avoid playing at 10 o'clock for church service. The Chaplain came round for us, and was very sorry he had not notified us beforehand so as to be sure of our presence.

After dinner Walter Lewis, a Mr. Bacon, formerly of Sycamore, now belong to the 15th Reg. Ill., & I took a walk out west. It was quite warm, and very dusty. The road was full of soldiers going to and from camps west, and the little town of Rolla. About a half mile from the village we found ourselves on an eminence commanding a range of country full fifteen miles in extent, in every direction except back of us towards Rolla. We were just on the Western slope of the elevation. I can hardly call it a hill. It is more like a swell of land common in prairie countries. But this in common with all land in this section was covered with oak timber. Where we now stood were planted two brass 6 pounders, looking very saucely over the surrounding country. There were a few tents here, for the gunners, and also a part of a company of cavelry. From this point we passed down the road through scattered timber a half mile further and came to the camp of the 14th & 15th Illinois Regiments. Both Regiments were enclosed in one line of Guard. On entering the only question asked was if we belonged to any of the Regiments stationed here and answering "the 13th" we were told "all right: pass along." These Regiments stretched through the grove a half mile. Every thing about the tents looked fresh and clean. The few days they have been encamped there are not sufficient to have worn off the grass and raised a dust common in all our camps. From here we passed on a half mile further and came to the advance portion of Gen. Lyon's force under the command of Major Sturges,<sup>25</sup> just arrived from Springfield, and this is the first real stopping place they have made since the battle at Springfield on the 10th inst. The men presented a fair specimen of soldiers who had seen service. They looked exhausted: were ragged, poor and as dirty as if they had just been dug out of the ground. Horses, harnesses, wagons, guns, swords, and the clothing of the men were in the worst possible

<sup>25</sup>Major Samuel D. Sturges of the First U. S. Cavalry succeeded to Lyon's command on the latter's death at Wilson's Creek and was appointed brigadier general of volunteers with rank from the date of the battle.

condition. Every thing seemed to be mix up and in confusion. The worst sight however was the wounded men who were lying around the fence and in open wagons waiting for cure or death. Almost every discription of bruises was to be seen among the soldiers. Legs, arms, heads &c were bandaged in every way or any way to cover their wounds. Eight or ten large wagon loads of wounded men ready to leave for the depot to take cars for St Louis, where they could have proper treatment. While I was examining them, an officer came along and said, "Well boys, you'll have to get out, after all, as the cars have *gone*, and you cant leave till tomorrow." The poor fellows had to look at another long night of suffering in the open air and uncared for. This is one feature of war. None can appreciate it save the sufferers. *They* know what it is to be hundreds of miles from home among strangers, and with mutilated limbs—neglected, run over, or shoved off or kicked off—any way to be put out from under foot. Before engagement, hospitals are sufficient to shelter the sick, but after large engagements seldom are hospitals sufficient for the wounded. Good fare would be a soft board in a poor mans wood shed, or a bundle of straw in his barn. The 1st Kansas Reg. was in the thickest of the fight and suffered much. It was hard to find how many were killed out of this Reg. because even the soldiers dont know *now*. It is put between 250 and 450.<sup>26</sup> I conversed with many; and many showed me minor wounds where balls just took off the skin, others could show ball-holes in their clothes but no wounds. *I* should be satisfied with the *holes*, though I should object to a slight *flesh wound*, but this loosing an arm, a leg, or a head: excuse *me!* I was very glad to get home, having been in a cloud of dust during the day. There is no end to the travelling between town & camp. . . .

Tuesday August 20th 1861

After Guard mounting this morning, I told the *band* that we would adjourn practice, *sini die*, or until *they* provided a place for practice. . . . They came down here almost swearing that they would give their sole attention to band drill, and get up a "jam up" band in three months. After being here a month the practice becomes work. One man goes to tinkering watches and wants to stave off practice. Some want to go into the boarding house business. Nothing in the world will interest others but baby corre-

<sup>26</sup>Casualties in the First Kansas Infantry included 77 killed, 187 wounded, and 20 missing, a total of 284 of the 800 men engaged.

spondence. They will read and write letters with the same intensity a man would read his own death warrant or a God send in the shape of a hundred thousand dollar fortune, while in their practice they take about the same interest a man would in having an Ulcired tooth extracted. Others are perfectly raring to get hold of a pack of cards, and find no engagement in anything except in poker with *five cent ante*. For a whole day together they will sit at the table, shuffle over a pack of cards, and count the spots on them, with as great an intensity of interest as they would if the fate of empires was depending upon the success of the hands they hold. With others a slight belly ache is sufficient to "bust up" their practice, and this ailing seems to come around about as often as one wants to get rid of practice. Such things discourage me. There is too much milk and water interest in our band to thrive well. I am most out of patience with Alden, the *nominal* leader. His interest is chiefly bound up in getting letters from his wife. I have known him to read one of her letters over six times and get so sick in the operation that he couldnt practice a note, in fact could not do anything but sit right down and answer it. . . . At 10 o clock Walter and I and Bowers rode down six miles on the cars and got off and walked a mile to a famous old apple and peach orchard. I forgot the mans name, but he was fifty or sixty years old, a North Carolinian by birth, owned a farm of two thousand acres, about fifty slaves, a good old fashioned farm or planter's establishment, was and for years had been, postmaster, was a Bell and Everitt man in politics, but a strong Union man at the present time.<sup>27</sup> When we arrived he bid us help ourselves to apples, peaches & cider, and we took hold with a greediness such as camp men *only* have. I devoured about 4 quarts of apples which were in a large box on piazza, and drew glass after glass of cider from a barrel near by, and disposed of it without a complaint. Walter and Bowers were not much behind in the business, but went into it as though it was just suited to their tastes. After eating a half hour, all hands turned to and ground out a barrel of cider, after which we were in a condition to pack a few more apples, but doing it required the operation of letting out pants. Walter swelled up and looked, "for all the world as if he had the base drum with him, ready to do duty, the only thing lacking was the stick—his arms were not long enough to substitute for drum sticks as they

<sup>27</sup>John Bell and Edward Everett were nominated in 1860 for the presidency and vice presidency. Their Constitutional Union Party secured the electoral votes of only Kentucky, Tennessee, and Virginia.



wouldnt reach to the center of his belly. We passed off the time very pleasantly, rambling in the orchard, chewing & smoking tobacco and conversing with the old gentleman, until 3 o clock when we were invited in to a good and substantial farmers dinner. . . . We had a good old time: at the depot I weighed 203 pounds, a gain of about 10 pounds since morning.

Wednesday August 21st 1861

. . . At 3 o clock our Regiment had a battalion drill, on the ground cleared off by our soldiers. This as compared with company drill is very interesting, but many of their movements are on "double quick," which is not so funny, particularly for company farthest from the pivot, where the regiment is in line and swing on one corner. Heels have to take up fast and for long distances. . . .

Thursday August 22d 1861

. . . Nothing yet done about practice. Several of the boys are buried head and ears in poker, and hardly find time for duty.

We have had another duty recently added to our band labor, playing at Battalion Drill, which takes place, usually at 3 o clock pm. All we have to do is to play one piece for them to fall into line and another to march them onto the drill ground. . . .

We are beginning to get plenty of fruit now. The "pukes" are beginning to learn that this is a good point to dispose of such articles. A basket of fruit is soon disposed of here.

Friday August 23 1861

This morning Sturges troops passed through our camp to encamp 2 miles in our rear. I dont know how many Regiments there were, but they were stringing along nearly all the forenoon. This is the force just from Springfield, and has been a week in camp three miles west of here. I could not help noticing the contrast between these haggard, ragged, war worn soldiers and our own fresh, well dressed and inexperienced regiment. The former have been through several forced marches, are the troops that fought at Boonville, the very troops which took Camp Jackson, the self same troops that did such execution and met such losses at Springfield. Their warlike bearing—though they appeared exhausted, was interesting to me. They have done their country much service, and



may yet be called upon to sacrifice more of their number in her defense. As they passed we played several tunes to them; the sight of these men experienced in war inspired our boys so that they played their best. This afternoon all hands turned out and built a bower 1/4 of a mile off in the woods. Tomorrow we commence practice again.

Saturday August 24 1861

We had an hours practice this forenoon and afternoon in our new bower. There is but one objection to this place. It protects us from the sun but not from the rain. In wet weather our drill will be necessarily interrupted. Tenniss was absent at both rehearsals. Watch business very good. But is making an average of \$8.00 dollars per day. He has little or no interest in practice, and is in for any arrangement to put it off. But the boys are "*sure fire*" on fines, when men *can* be there and wont. They admit of no excuse for absence save sickness. . . .

Tonight the 4th Iowa arrived and encamped between us and the 7th Mo. They are a good looking lot of boys, but mostly young and smaller than the average of our regiment.

Friday August 25 1861

There was a general running out of our tent last night or early this morning to see "*what was up.*" It was a nois resembling the tread of a drove of cattle. Some knew it was the enemy approaching; the barking of dogs told us it was something unusual. It proved to be the 1st Mo. Reg. marching to the Depot from two miles in our rear where they have been encamped for the past week. The 4th Iowa go to day to occupy the ground they leave.

This morning at 9 o clock our Regiment had another general inspection, the same as last Sunday, and as usual the band played for the performance. Bond and I have enjoyed ourselves to day unusually well. After "inspection" we procured horses and saddles, and rode down six miles to the old peach and apple orchard which I visited last Tuesday. I never enjoyed a ride more than this one: after being pent up in camp—amid the noise and confusion of thousands of rough men, it is particularly pleasant to get away and enjoy the beauties of an almost uninhabited country. Solitude is better appreciated when we have been sometime deprived of it. In camp there is hardly a minute in a day that one is not surrounded

by at least a half dozen men. Reading or thinking is done only with effort at concentration. To leave this crowd and get away out of sight and hearing of *men*, makes things in nature twice as agreeable. It makes one better pleased with his own company. His thoughts are twice as entertaining. Every old log and stone and tree induced an agreeable feeling. As we were riding by an old and *apparently* deserted log house, we heard singing, and reined our horses up to the fence, hitched and went in, and offered our services in the entertainment. It was not a very difficult thing to "lay them out" in the art, and they fairly gave up beat; though they *supposed* they belonged to the first class artists, they knew nothing about "roundnotes" as they called them, but were well acquainted with the "block system" which was the system they were using. These people came from Springfield since the battle, One short chubby man introduced me to his wife and two good looking girls 16 & 18 years old, which were his entire family. "These" said he "I thought I'd save." He had left behind a well stocked farm perfectly covered with heavy crops, in fact he had left there his earnings of ten years, and "yesterday" said he "I heard that 5000 of the d-d cusses had camped in my cornfield. O, I'm ruined" said he, with composure and resignation, and the girls looked for a tear of sympathy to trickle down my cheeks. I replied: "It's tough," and he said "*'tis d-d tough.*" And so it was the man with his family had fled the country for personal



Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper, February 1, 1862

**Refugees from Southern Missouri Encamped at Rolla**

safety leaving a comfortable little fortune, the hard earned dollars of ten years labor, to be destroyed by his enemies. All along the road we saw families from Springfield and on the road this side, camped in wagons, and deserted old log huts. These are strange things to witness in this "land of the free," under a government which up to this time has been proverbial for giving protection to person and property.

We arrived at our orchard at 11 o'clock. Went through about the same programme we went through the other day, first cider then peaches then apples, then smoking. . . . Before leaving I bot a barrel of apples and peaches and ordered them sent to Rolla. We returned at six, missing dress parade.

Camp Rolla Monday Aug. 26th 1861

To day we adopted another rule in the band, that any member guilty of a breach of band duty, other than such as were specified in rules already in force, should be fined from one to fifty cents, at the discretion of the band. This is a good rule with men of discretion, but being myself the first victim of the rule, I was half inclined to doubt the expediency of lodging so much discretionary power in the band. . . .

Sunday September 1st 1861

. . . To day Capt. Dutton, Bond and I went down on the cars to Wishon's orchard. After the usual routine of cider, apples and peaches we went in to dinner and when the eating was over we actually groaned under pressure heavy stomachs. No position seemed to relieve us. Standing in the shape of a new moon was the most comfortable position. The least *exercise* seemed to threaten explosion. Cider when working will bust a barrel if much shook up, and by moving very fast we felt the pressure increase. We were in a predicament—obligated to foot it one mile to the depot, or miss dress parade and be censored and perhaps put in the guard house for neglect of duty. We delayed as long as we dared to, and then started but before we were 1/4 the way there the cars thundering by. We struck up double quick, Bond leading off like an antelope, and I bringing up the rear, putting in my best to keep within hailing distance. We had our canteens full of cider. The stopples blew out and the cider followed, and in our stomachs there seemed to be a huge family quarrel between the apples, peaches, cider and dump-

lins. We arrived at the depot in season to learn that the cars had been gone 10 minutes. A consultation was held & we concluded to hasten on foot to the nearest house 1 1/2 mile where we obtained a team and man to take us to camp. We arrived in just season for dress parade, but not one moment to spare. The day was very warm and our travelling was about as oppressive as one could endure.

Sunday September 8th 1861

Another beautiful day, and greatly enjoyed at Wishon's orchard. After inspection at 9, W.E. Lewis & I took the cars for Dillon and then went foot a mile & a half down the track to Wishon's. . . . He stowed away, according to his own counting, fifty peaches, uncounted apples, cider by the quart, and victuals at the dinner table in quantities too great for mention. And on the piazza, in conversation with the family, Walter carried his part evenly, and seemed to be the happiest one in the mess. Though a frequent grunting and groaning would indicate a little uneasiness in the vicinity of the stomach. Wishon refused to accept anything from us for his apples as his hospitality. . . . We had missed dress parade and were liable to censure for neglect of duty. . . . Walter soon became uneasy, and at 7 o'clock he with a few privates started on foot for Rolla. I remonstrated against the move, as we had already missed dress parade, and had nothing more to do till 8 o'clock in the morning, before which time the cars would certainly come and take us home: but Walter would go, and he said write two or three letters before he went to bed, so off he went, and I went to a little house kept to accommodate the *public*, got supper, set down with the family, and played with a little institution called *baby* six weeks old and weighing the enormous weight of 10 pounds, a gain of 7 1/2 pounds in six weeks, as the mother informed me. I had given up the thought of seeing the cars, supposing the track to be torn up by the Rebels, and had made arrangements for a night's lodging, with the understanding I was to be called at sun rise in the morning, so that I could reach Rolla on foot before eight o'clock. But right in the middle of a good story being told by a native "*puke*" the train arrived, and I broke off for the depot, the train was delayed by heavy freight. We arrived at the Rolla Depot at 10 o'clock. I proceeded, forthwith to the *guard* line, and was hailed by the Sentinels "who comes there?" "Friend without the countersign," I replied when the officer of the

Guard, Lieut. Droll [?] stepped over the line and inquired "who is it."—"C.M. Chase of the 13th Regt. Band" I replied. "I am ordered to put you in the Guard House, Mr Chase." "The deuce you are" said I. "Let us go and see the Major"—and he very willing consented. As we were going to the Majors tent he said "*One* of your men is *in* the Guard House now, the Drummer." I couldnt help laughing as we were going along to think of poor Walters fare, and under the excitement produced by my own predicament, and the knowledge of Walter's situation I gave the officer of the Guard a slap on the shoulder which sent him staggering six feet away from me. He thought it was funny enough and seemed to enjoy the joke. We woke up the Major who finally consented that I should take Walter out of the Guard House and that I might report *myself* to him in the morning instead of to the Adjutant. I found Walter, not inside of the Guard House but outside under the ropes all done up in his blanket. I opened the blanket and asked Walter how this happened—if he had not mistaken the tent. Walter rose up slowly and said d-n the arrangement—"dam"—"—I swear," little d-d adjutant. I wish I could kill somebody "by Jerusalem." He got off all these expressions before I could get in a word to soften his wrath. When I came to the tent the boys expected to see me march to the Guard House.

#### Monday Camp Rolla September 23, 1861

The 13th 14th & 15th Illinois Regiments are ordered to move tomorrow for Jefferson City—It is now 8 o clock in the evening. We have just recd the order, and it comes entirely unexpected. It is impossible to describe the good feeling the news produces. Our entire camp seems to be a scene of wild joy and jubilee. Every company is sending up a hurrah and seemingly trying to drown every other company. Our boys have long complained of having nothing to do. The prospect is that they will have something to do as soon as they arrive there. The enemy are reported to be marching on that point in round numbers under McCulloch and Price. . . .

Yesterday Walter and I took a stroll down the rail road 4 miles and stopped at a house now inhabited by some of the Springfield refugees. We got dinner there, apples and peaches and had a good time generally; at 3 o clock we came home and this time were in season for dress parade, and Walter didn't go into the Guard House. . . .

Tuesday Sept. 24 1861

Last night the camp was one scene of excitement continually. Every one was busily at work preparing for to-days exit. Orders were given out to cook up three days rations, and before midnight that order was fully complied with. Our boys cooked up a tub of beans, a large lot of dough nuts, biscuits, &c, and packed them in boxes; preparations were also made for throwing every thing about our tent into the cars. At 12 o'clock I got up and assisted what I could. I was too late however for work but just in season for fun. Bowers had got a dipper of whiskey and he and two or three others were celebrating the occasion in a manner best suited to their tastes. In fact Bowers, who pretends to be a very sober, temperate man, got "set up" and behaved himself in a very intemperate and uproarious manner. Bowers, in fact, couldnt think of anything too funny to do. He keeled over in the tent and kicked up out side of the tent, and continued to behave & kick up and laugh and holla, until the surgeon spoke to him when he dropped himself down upon a bench and commenced vomiting, which was the last heard of him till morning.

This morning tents were all emptied and every thing made ready for the order to "strike tents," but at eight o'clock the drum beat for Guard mounting. We went out and performed our duty at Guard mounting and then learned that we were not to leave till night came, as the pay master was here ready to pay off the soldiers; paying continued till night. We went to bed at 10, at 1 o'clock were called to receive our pay. All hands went to-gether and drew our money and all handed it to Walter to be equally divided and then went back to bed.

The troops composed of about 150 men from the 13, 14, & 15 Ill. and 7th Missouri, in all nearly seven hundred, who have been stationed at Salem, 25 miles from here, during the past fortnight, arrived to night on a double quick march, to be ready to leave with the rest of the force going to J. City. They brot in cattle, horses, mules, and niggers.

Wednesday Sept 25th 1861

This morning we learned that 25 miles below here, near Cuba, the train of cars which contained the 14th Ill Reg. going to Jefferson City, came in collision with the train coming West. The engines were smashed, some dozen men killed and a lot of mules, the particu-

lars we have not learned. No cars have run from here to day, and no train received since Monday. It is now reported that we shall not leave here this week. The boys through the Regiment seem very much disappointed. They really believed that to night would see them in Jefferson City, and that tomorrow would be the day for them to measure bayonets with the "seceshers." We have had no practice to day, as we expected at any moment to be ordered away.

Thursday Sept 26 1861. Camp Rolla.

I am visiting on one side of the big drum and Bond, the 2d<sup>B</sup>, and Sicord of Company F are playing euchre on the other side, at 25 cents per game. Bond says he has won \$20.00 to day at Poker. The Regiment was paid off the first of this week and since that gambling has run high. Some of the soldiers have already lost three months wages. Gambling seems to destroy for the time all the sober feelings of the heart. It breeds contentions, angry disputes, & swearing, and turns sober minded and honest men into wreckless venturers, and unfeeling cut throats.

Last night at midnight Col. Wyman (now General Wyman) came up from his quarters at the Depot, to Col Gorges tent, next to ours, and informed the Col. that rockets had been seen some 8 or 10 miles away in different directions, from which he argued that the enemy were approaching in different divisions and that the rockets were thrown up as signals of locality. Cartridges were distributed and quite a buz created in camp. It had been rumored that the enemy had made a show of attacking Jefferson City for the purpose of drawing troops from this point and enabling him to take it the more easily. This report was plausible and Wymans rocket story was consequently more readily received. This morning however nothing is heard of the enemy and his whereabouts is still very uncertain. There is a general impression however that he is *some where*, and not far from here.

The prospect of leaving this point is not so good as it was a day or two ago. To day after practice several of us went on the Hill to visit the redoubt being built—for the defense of this point. Two of the 32 pounders are already mounted and the other two just ready for the operation. The place could be used to great advantage *more* as a place of defense, but it is not near completed, and I have sometimes feared it would not be until the enemy had taken us all. . . .



Friday Sept 27, 1861 Camp Rolla.

Another war excitement in camp last night. Col. Wyman appeared at Col. Gorges tent at about 2 o'clock this morning with the exciting information that the pickets belonging to the 4th Iowa Reg. had been driven in, that five or six of them had been wounded, that *probably* the enemy were upon the point of making an attack, and that he expected hot work to commence at sunrise. The Captains were all notified of the expected attack, the soldiers were supplied with 40 rounds of cartridges, and most of the companies were called into line with arms and ammunition on their persons. This time I had no doubt of witnessing an engagement before this time to day. It seemed almost evident, and I began to wish I had sent my "*little W money*" home so that the *Secesh* couldn't rob me of it. The probability is that the enemy would not attack us with less than 10,000 men which is a greater force than we can resist. As near as I can judge we are not in a good condition to make a stand any way. Our fort on the hill can not be as servicable as it ought to be, considering the labor expended there, and I have not the utmost confidence in the officers at this post. I don't know as a man of them ever saw a battle, or a skirmish; if not, they cannot make the most advantageous disposition of forces in an engagement. They may be good theorists, but one officer of practical experience would command more confidence than a regiment of school tacticians.

To day the boys of the band have been supplied with overcoats. They have looked mean so long that they feel quite proud of the coats, notwithstanding they are secondhand articles, worn by the guards for the past few months, when they are on duty nights and rainy days. Frank, our Dutch E<sup>b</sup> has been enjoying himself amazingly for two or three days past. From some source he obtained a quart of whiskey and has been unusually *happy*, to say the least ever since.

No mail or train of cars since the accident on the Rail road last Tuesday. We were expecting a mail to night but it comes not. It is reported that the enemy has possession of the road at Franklin; if so we are cut off from St. Louis and are in a pretty fix to go home next week—

Saturday Sept 28. In camp 7 miles west of Rolla—

This morning we were ordered to march at 8 o'clock. Where: no one knew precisely; some said to Lebanon 70 miles South West. Some said Jefferson City. The Band thought if we were going to



Lebanon, they would rather not go along, as their time is out next Tuesday, and they would have to foot it back—But the Col. insisted that they should go to Jefferson City, and all the boys seemed anxious to go. At 12 o'clock the Regiment, preceded by the band, left the old camping ground. They passed down by the depot and there rested till two, when they took up their line of march for some where in the west—We marched about seven miles before camping. The band started with Knap sacks loaded, and weighing about 50 pounds, each carrying on the back. In a little while it seemed like a ton. We finally got them off and into wagons, which made marching more tolerable. The regiments stopped several times to let the teamsters regulate their teams. During the stopping the band played and the music never sounded so well. About dark we found ourselves marching part of the time on the bed of a stream and part of the time on a road graded for a rail road. Some of us followed the rail-road altogether and got separated from the teams and the main body of the regiment. When we came out of the woods we saw camp fires, and found the 4th Iowa cooking their suppers and preparing for night. Pigs, geese, hens and turkeys were squeeling all around us. The boys paid no respect to the rights of property in any thing good to eat. We camped on the forks of two roads. There were three houses and several small shanties there. In our house the 4th Iowa Band got good quarters. They forced their way in however, and during the night heard some painful cries and shrieks in the room below them. In the morning they were informed that the family had been increased by the addition of a pair of twins.

Our teams had got stuck in the mud some distance in our rear, and we were consequently without blankets. We built up a fire. Killed a small pig, made out a supper and lay down on some rail-road ties which we thought we made for the occasion.

The most interesting thing of the journey was the position of Tenniss, who swore he should never leave Rolla till he started for home. But, has been homesick for several weeks. He wants a change, and that change towards home. But we got him off and laughing at him on the rout was one of our chief amusements.

Sunday Sept. 29, 1861—Near Camp Rolla.

I can't say that my sleep was very sweet last night. One Rail-road tie, with a pair of cow hide shoes as a pillow is not the easiest imaginable bed. I had nothing else last night. Towards midnight the fire went down, and I awoke shivery and cold. I rose up, took

in a fresh chew of tobacco, threw two or three ties extra on the fire, and sit down to think and enjoy myself. The camp had got still, the night was clear, and for a moment I seemed to be alone, away off in a distant country sheltered only by the starry sky. I could hardly realize that I was in the midst of armed men, marching on to battle. There was no sound, save the slow tramp of the guards, which made the night even more lonely than dead silence. After enjoying my *chew* for a half hour I again reclined upon the rail tie, and soon fell asleep and woke up in the morning finding myself amid the noise and confusion of two thousand soldiers. The geese and the pigs were again squeeling and preparations for breakfast were going on. After breakfast, or after eating a little burnt pig and hard crackers some of the boys went to playing poker. The chaplain came along and said "Boys you have six days in the week for card playing, cant you omit it on the Sabbath day." One or two of the boys who are church members at home quickly dropped their cards, and seemed abashed to think they had indulged in such sport on Sunday: Two or three, however, who have no respect for their Creator continued much to the mortification of the rest of the band.

At eight o'clock, the cavalry which had camped back of us came on and led off the march. The band struck up Yankee Doodle and in a few minutes the whole force was under a good march.

After marching an hour we came to a large white house—Judge York—I noticed some of the loose men going in and I broke ranks and went. The family, I judged, were just at breakfast. One or two



Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper, September 28, 1861

#### Union Soldiers Pillaging in Missouri

of our boys had set down to eat, and I followed suit, taking a chair out from under one of the boys. I was hungry, and considered self preservation the first law of nature. I didnt stand upon ceremony, but went in on my muscle. I *knew* the house would be drained of every eatable thing, and I simply went in for my share *and got it*. The Col. came in while I was at the table, giving command for every one to leave that did not belong there. I stuck to my chair, and the Col. gave me a look as much as to say "I wish I was in your place." There was a general scattering however among the boys—some going out of the windows and some out of the doors, some heels first and some head first, most of them however had a chunk of bread, or a canteen of cider in their hands; there was a grocery in connection with the establishment, and while some were eating others were filling their canteens with cider, and their pockets with whatever they could find. This living on the rout of marching armies is rather severe on poor people. For hungry men will not starve when any effort of theirs can prevent it.

The next incident on our war was the crossing of the Gasconade which is about seventeen miles from Rolla. This stream is about 10 rods wide, about three or four feet deep and has a current at least 20 miles per hour. The command "off breeches and wade" was given and in three minutes from the order several hundred men were fording the stream with their coats on and the balance of their clothing and their guns and knapsacks above their heads. I didnt know what a job I had undertaken till I got fairly started. The bed of the river was full of sharp stones, and the current was almost swift enough to carry one down stream in spite of himself. Before I got across, it seemed next to impossible to step so tender were my feet, but I accomplished the thing and never felt more thankful than when I could once more step upon the soft ground. After dressing I seated myself to enjoy the scene, and it was certainly novel and interesting. The stream seemed to *swarm* with half naked men, horses wagons &c,&c. Now and then a horse would stumble and plunge his rider head foremost into the rushing tide. Occasionally one of the mules would be contrary and drop down and act as if bound to drown himself at all hazzards. In crossing many valuables were lost. One of the boys picked up a large hunters case gold watch, some lost their wallet with all their money, others their guns, some one thing and some another. The band played the National tunes a few minutes during the crossing of the advance companies and when enough had crossed to *form* we were ordered to

resume marching. We marched about five miles when Gen. Wymans Secretary came riding past us with orders to "*about face*"; the rear of our column had but just passed the Gasconade, and before dressing turned about and headed the counter march. I don't know why it was but as soon as the counter march commenced my lameness which was occasioned by blistered feet, began to grow worse and it was a difficult thing to travel. The Major kindly gave me his horse to ride an hour which was of great assistance. In recrossing the Gasconade I got a ride by piling onto one of the baggage wagons against the express orders of the driver. We camped about 10 miles from Rolla at a place owned by Judge York, the very place where I got my breakfast. Bowers undertook to get a supper for Bond and me, about three miles the other side of the Judges. We broke rank, crossed the stream and went to a house which Bowers supposed was Buchanan's, where he got his breakfast. The woman of the house said Buchanan lived a mile and a half further on, and we could go cross lots over a very rough pass and save fording the stream twice. We traveled about two miles straight over a rugged mountain, till we came to a path and there met an Irishman who told us Buchanans was about 2 miles from there. I could not have traveled 2 miles more to save me. We put for camp as fast as possible, played a few tunes on the band and laid ourselves down in the open air to sleep.

#### Camp Rolla Monday Sept 30 1861—

Nothing I enjoy more than sleeping in the open air. Last night we built a rousing fire and all hands rolled ourselves in our blankets and slept soundly till four o'clock when the camp was all astir preparing breakfast and getting ready to move by day light.

This morning getting *started* was rather difficult. Every other man was lame of sore feet and as for myself and the band generally we were not only lame but stiff, and it was not till after an hour's march that our joints worked at will. We arrived at this place at 10 o'clock and played our old No 60 in marching our regiment onto a camping ground. During our absence the 36 Ill reg., Col Greusel<sup>28</sup> and Lieutenant Joslyn—(Ed Joslyn) commanding, arrived here and are now occupying our Old camping ground. The 7th Missouri left for Jefferson City and the 4th Iowa now occupy this ground. Our regiment now occupy the ground between these two regiments. Five or six companies of cavalry are in our rear. We are all in a pile,

<sup>28</sup>Colonel Nicholas Greusel of the 36th Illinois.

though each regiment has its own guard beat. We are like a crowded city, the streets are full of men and horses, and we are constantly running onto and against and into one another. We are getting used to it and don't mind it. When we leave is in my mind very uncertain. We expect to move tomorrow, but expectations in camp is always disappointed. I am getting too old in the business to rely upon reports. The Boys now go over town to board with our pie man, who does the thing up very fair. We think of stopping with him only till we leave for Jefferson City in *the next train*.

The 36th Ill. Reg. Band has a band of 24 pieces, but dont begin to play with us. They say we play like devils, meaning we play first rate.

Wednesday, Camp Rolla Oct 2d 61

Rained all day, no Guard mounting, no practice, no dress parade.

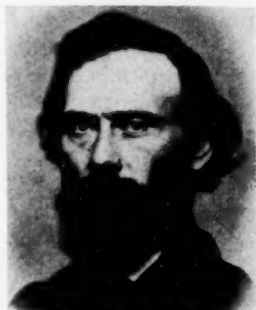
Thursday Oct 3d 1861

Pleasant day. After Guard Mounting went with the band to our old bower in the woods for practice. This noon the train arrived and took away the 15th Illinois. We go on the next train *positively* the Col says. . . .

Thursday October 10th 1861

Early this morning the camp was all in motion preparing to move

Band discharged Oct 10



*Courtesy N. Louise Chase*

**C. M. Chase**

## CHOLERA IN MISSOURI

BY JAMES T. BARRETT\*

From the medical viewpoint the 1800's in the United States were vintage years for epidemics as heavy immigration of the Irish, Germans, Swiss, Italians, and others crowded the cities and lowered the already minimal living conditions, especially of our ocean and river ports. Migration to the West, encouraged by religionist movements, the Homestead Act, and the discovery of gold, provided the pathway for the spread of disease from one side of our country to the other. These, coupled to the lack of understanding of the cause, spread, and prevention of infectious disease, took a heavy toll of American lives. Although smallpox, diphtheria, scarlet fever, typhoid, and a host of other "domestic" diseases were rampant, perhaps none was as grisly as Asiatic cholera.

Cholera made four major travels across the globe during the nineteenth century, and each time our country and state were hit hard. St. Louis, then a great receiving port lying at the crossroads of the Western movements, suffered severely but not alone, as scores of lesser Missouri cities and villages were swept by successive waves of cholera beginning in 1832, 1848, 1853, and 1873. These should be viewed as the beginning dates for great peaks of choleraic deaths against a constant backdrop of disease in the intervening years. It is the purpose of this article to recall some of the historical and medical highlights of the cholera years in Missouri.

*The first wave, 1832-1833.* Though succeeding epidemics of cholera probably came up the Mississippi River, the first came downsteam. During the Black Hawk War, which occurred in Illinois and Wisconsin in 1832, combatants on both sides died of cholera, and a Columbia, Missouri, newspaper stated that five times as many soldiers fell to cholera as to Black Hawk's warriors. When seven chiefs were given military escort from Rock Island to Jefferson Barracks, five of the guards died, and one Indian became ill apparently past recovery. In the meantime, desertions from Rock Island began and increased steadily during August and September. These

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This paper is adapted from a teaching seminar of the department.

flights south carried cholera to St. Louis during the early fall of 1832. Army Surgeon J.P.C. McMahon died, but no statistics are available either for the civilian or military personnel.

During the winter cholera lay dormant. Cape Girardeau was one of the first cities to fall to cholera the next year, and the renowned United States Senator Alexander Buckner, his wife, and all his slaves died at their country estate near Jackson. An unknown but seemingly few deaths occurred in St. Louis, where the near escape from the epidemic was attributed to the use of Missouri River water which was allowed to settle before delivery to the city. This claim was made despite the observation that twelve entire families and 60 victims were taken in St. Charles, and many were amazed that the victims were all of the best families, whereas the "intemperate and dissolute were left untouched."<sup>1</sup>

This outbreak of 1833 struck Palmyra, a village of 700 to 1,000 in Marion County, and claimed greater than ten per cent of its population as victims. Here it was said that "rain followed by hot weather at a time when there was much new plowed soil gave rise to the pestiferous miasmata which resulted in congestive fever and cholera."<sup>2</sup> New London, in Ralls County to the south of Palmyra, also suffered severely.

Immigrant ships provided a prime target for cholera. Overcrowding, minimal sanitary facilities, and poor diets permitted the spread of cholera rapidly through a ship's hold. On one such steamer, the *Chester*, 100 Swiss died between New Orleans and St. Louis. It was not uncommon for the deceased to be buried in shallow sand graves or dropped overboard without ceremony, so the Mississippi River quickly became heavily polluted with cholera germs.

At Ste. Genevieve a steamboat left a choleraic man to die on a wharf. Of the citizens in town only Dr. Lewis F. Linn would go near the ill man, and even he asked his wife to leave the city for fear of cholera. She refused, and the sick man was taken to their home for treatment, though a mob formed and threatened to fire their house. Later cholera broke out in this city, but the castaway's fortune is unknown.

Dr. Linn was a very learned as well as compassionate man. Observing cholera among his people and being without experience in its diagnosis or treatment, he corresponded with physicians in

<sup>1</sup>John S. Chambers, *The Conquest of Cholera* (New York, 1938), 136.

<sup>2</sup>*Ibid.*, 140.



Europe, where cholera was previously known, on the proper treatment of this disease. He then issued a circular with full particulars on the history, symptoms, effects, prevention, and cure of this Asiatic disease. The *Columbia Missouri Intelligencer* on June 29, 1833, carried a lengthy letter from Dr. Linn containing his views, including the belief that fear, anger, intemperance, green fruits and vegetables, and night air all contributed to contraction of cholera. The best aids for recovery, he added, were bleedings (one half pint, repeated if necessary), calomel, opium, spirits of camphor, and warming fires in damp weather.



Dr. Lewis F. Linn

During the next 15 years surprisingly few reports of an occasional appearance at a river town such as New Madrid or Franklin is noted. During the summer of 1835 seven victims died of cholera in Springfield. At Arrow Rock, Dr. George Penn and Dr. John Sappington treated about 80 cases between 1833 and 1835. Dr. Sappington, famed for his antifever pills, also included a section on the treatment of cholera in his famous book, *The Theory and Treatment of Fevers*, published in Arrow Rock in 1844. He condemned bleeding, purging, vomiting, cold drinks, and heavy sedation and favored instead hot toddies, frictions of the skin, and other warming treatments. His success is supported by the loss of only three patients from the 80 cases.

*The greatest scourge, 1849.* For 15 years cholera had laid dormant, but it arose with its greatest wrath in 1849. There is good evidence that this second onslaught of cholera came from New Orleans. The Eighth United States Infantry left St. Louis for Port Lavacca, Texas, and suffered no deaths until after leaving New Orleans. Of the 100 or more cases in St. Louis in January the majority were landed from steamers arriving from downstream. The *Amaranth* docked with 30 cases, *Aleck Scott* with 40 cases and



6 deaths, *St. Paul* with 26 cases and 4 deaths, and *General Jessup* with "many cases." Though St. Louis was said free of cholera in February, 78 deaths were recorded for March. By April the deaths had risen to 126, nine from English Mormons headed west. More important, perhaps, the Illinois-Michigan canal was opened, and cholera was immediately carried to Chicago.

By May, St. Louis was in a condition of panic. The Circuit Court adjourned because of difficulty in locating jurors. Post office hours were curtailed for lack of help. Deaths rose steadily from a handful to two dozen per day. On the night of May 17 a great fire began which in the next days swept the wharves, destroying 28 boats and 418 neighboring businesses and homes. It was hoped that this great conflagration would clear the air of cholera, and to the relief of the citizenry the epidemic quieted, but for only two weeks. It was the quiet before the full storm as 26 died on June 9 and 37 on June 10, and 402 deaths occurred in the week ending June 17. The next week brought 636 fatalities, and 739 in the week following brought the total for the month of June to approximately 1,900 in a city of 63,471. At such a rate cholera would have killed every person in the city within 30 weeks. It is no wonder, then, that the city government was overthrown and a twelve member Committee of Safety formed. Directly and through subcommittees rapid actions were taken—schools were claimed as hospitals and physicians were appointed, streets and alleys were cleaned, block inspectors were given authority to levy fines up to \$500, and a quarantine station was established for all ships heading into St. Louis. July 2 was set aside as a day of fasting and prayer, but deaths continued at an appalling rate, and among the victims was Pierre Choteau of the Pierre LaCledé party which founded St. Louis. Physicians and quacks advertised their concoctions with great success in the face of this plague, and the editor of the *St. Louis Union*, who posted these cures on his desk, made great ceremony about the removal of each as its author succumbed to the disease.

The financial success of a quack medicine seemed to be brief and to be directly related to its name and origin rather than to any other factors. If the formula for some "sure-fire" remedy imported from India or Egypt had the testimonial of a world traveler such as a merchant captain, and incorporated a derivative of the word cholera, it was certain to be profitable. For example, the distributors of Original India Cholagogue had to caution their customers that Original Cholagogue was not an identical product.

Today it is difficult to envision the panic which gripped the city. Some merchants did not open their shops for a period of six weeks. New cemeteries were established as a direct result of this plague, and funerals constituted the major traffic on many streets. St. Louis became known as the "unhealthy city." Mayor John Mullanphy was so distressed by the immigrant dead arriving on ships that he later wrote a will providing the first fund west of the Mississippi for relief of immigrants. Later he established Mullanphy Hospital in St. Louis.

The great dread of cholera lay in its rapid spread, which resulted from faulty or complete lack of facilities for proper sewage disposal and water purification. One contributory factor in St. Louis was Kayser's Lake. In 1842 city engineer Henry Kayser devised a plan to use the limestone sink holes and caves under the city as natural sewers. Pennywise politicians gave token support to this plan, but trash soon blocked the entrance. The year 1848 was a year of heavy rainfall (seventeen inches fell in June), and soon the open sewer, derisively termed Kayser's Lake, was formed. This area, which must have been an excellent source of cholera, was not drained until 1850.

St. Louis was not the only city in Missouri which suffered from the 1849 cholera epidemic. Hannibal was free during June but had cholera during July and early August. Jefferson City records are unavailable, but one steamer was actually abandoned there after 60 deaths due to cholera on the trip from St. Louis.

In the Independence-Kansas City area cholera was severe as early as May. In Independence there were seven and ten deaths respectively in the Independence and Noland houses within 24 hours. Of 300 Belgian immigrants living in the East Bottoms, nearly half died of cholera, which later spread to the city and took 400 more. Weston, midway between Kansas City and St. Joseph, was apparently visited. There is little evidence of cholera elsewhere in Missouri, but it is a certainty that it existed throughout the State.

In 1850 cholera hindered completion of the St. Louis-Cairo telegraph, but in general it was a year of gratitude for lives spared in the preceding year. At St. Louis University the students presented a silver crown to the statue of the Virgin for sparing them in answer to their prayers during the great epidemic of 1849.

*The third and fourth waves, 1853 and 1873.* During the early 1850's cholera was always present, taking about 800 to 850 lives

annually in St. Louis until 1853. In 1854 St. Louis with 3,547 deaths was the hardest hit of any city in the United States. It is known that most of the river counties, St. Louis, St. Charles, Ste. Genevieve, Boone, Cape Girardeau, Chariton, Clay, Cooper, Gasconade, Lafayette, Platte, and Washington, were visited, but few figures are available. A few, including several slaves, died at Fayette. The small village of Richfield, east of Liberty, was all but deserted because of cholera. Sixteen died at Huntsville. Cholera prevailed throughout the summer in Independence, Harrisonville, Pleasant Hill, Jefferson City, Kansas City, Weston, and many other villages in the State.

There is little record of cholera in the civilian population of Missouri during the Civil War despite our knowledge of several infamous military prisons. In fact, after 1853-1854 there was relatively little cholera in this country. It is true that a fourth wave swept the United States beginning in 1873, but it was extremely mild compared to 1849. In 1866 and 1867 St. Louis continued to lead the Nation in the number of cholera deaths. During the height of the disease as many as 50 deaths occurred in a day. At Jefferson Barracks the 56th Colored Infantry had over 250 deaths.

The outbreak of cholera in Missouri in 1873 can hardly be labeled an epidemic in comparison with the previous episodes. Only twelve died at Quarantine Hospital in St. Louis and less than 400 in the entire city that year. Deaths in Hannibal numbered approximately ten; Palmyra escaped entirely; there were 21 fatalities in Louisiana and 34 at Clarksville in Pike County; a few deaths occurred in Mill Springs near Poplar Bluff and at Poplar Bluff itself; but no village was decimated by the disease. Jefferson City had a few deaths, largely restricted to the prison. Troy, Portage des Sioux, Fayette, and Versailles are among the other villages where cholera deaths are a part of the written record, but no where was the epidemic comparable to any of the three previous.

*Opinions as to the cause of cholera.* The miasmatic origin of cholera was held to very firmly during the first two epidemics. At Palmyra the hypothetical miasm apparently arose from new plowed soil. In St. Louis the source was never specified, but burning of coal, tar, and sulfur, and the great fire were all believed to clear the air. The disease in Richfield was believed to have arisen from the stench emanating from a "large bank of rotten potatoes,"<sup>3</sup> but

<sup>3</sup>*Liberty Weekly Tribune*, June 9, 1854.

the idea was negated by several who observed little cholera in homes near the potato dump.

A supernatural cause of disease was always held by many who undoubtedly thought that God had descended the cholera upon them because of their past sins. Some hoped that the tremendous St. Louis fire would end the plague, possibly by providing another form of human suffering as a substitute. Later, when the Committee of Safety called for a day of fasting and prayer, it pre-empted by one day an identical request to the Nation by President Zachary Taylor.

Eating habits were constantly under suspicion. Since cholera generally became more severe during warm weather it was natural to look toward fresh vegetables and fruits, especially green grapes, as the cause. During the second wave of cholera St. Louis enacted a law providing a fine of \$20 to \$100 (later increased by the Committee of Safety) for the sale of fresh fruits, vegetables, or meats. Dr. William McPheeters noted that the first two patients he saw in January, 1849, had been guilty of dietary imprudence—one had eaten too heartily of sauerkraut the day before. Intemperance was also considered an important predisposing factor for cholera.

Many other equally preposterous causes of cholera were forwarded. Both Dr. Linn of Ste. Genevieve and Dr. Daniel Drake of Cincinnati indicated fear, terror, and anger were causes of the illness. The Liberty paper stated that should a man be thrown from his horse and seriously injured he would die of cholera.



*Courtesy McCune Gill*

**St. Louis from Chouteau's Pond**

Perhaps this, as much as anything else, indicates the great fear which people held for the disease.

As late as 1873 cholera was attributed to a poison which was generated in India and spread from this single breeding ground to the rest of the world. By this time water and body wastes also were viewed with suspicion, especially near Kayser's Lake and Chouteau's Pond in St. Louis. When two fishermen died while camped by a tributary of the Missouri River, which passed through the prison near Jefferson City, filth-laden water came under renewed suspicion.

The bacterial cause of cholera was not established until 1883. Cholera was present in India, knocking at the door to Europe, when a race began between two famous microbiologists, Robert Koch of Germany and Louis Pasteur of France, to locate the cause of cholera. One of Pasteur's group died of the disease shortly before Koch isolated a comma-shaped bacterium that he thought to be the cause of this disease, a fact which he later established in Calcutta, India. He indicated that this microbe could grow only in heavily polluted water or the intestines of man and that the disease could be eliminated by proper sanitation alone, the primary method which makes today's control in civilized countries possible.

*Mortality due to cholera.* Any comments concerning this phase of the disease must be considered quite inaccurate, as morbid and vital statistics were of little concern in nineteenth century Missouri. Furthermore, the unending movement to the West caused much seasonal as well as annual fluctuation in the population of Missouri's villages and cities. Also, in the face of heavy outbreaks of other severe enteric disease considerable disparity of opinion existed among physicians as to what actually constituted a diagnosis of cholera.

Generally when a new disease is introduced into a population which has previously been free of the disease it strikes with great severity. This is the case with cholera in the United States, at least based upon Missouri's meagre statistics. New London and Palmyra each lost ten to 12 per cent of their population to cholera in the first epidemic. No similar figures can be calculated for the other villages visited but an estimate of five per cent does not seem unreasonable.

The first figures approaching statistics, and these largely related to St. Louis, are found for the 1848-1849 epidemic. In 1849 the estimated deaths were 4,500 to 6,000 from a city of less than 70,000.

The meaning of the phrase "less than 70,000" is twofold, indicating that the census early in 1849 was less than this and that some accounting should be made for the many who fled the city during the epidemic. Countering these two considerations is the knowledge that many of those listed as dead of cholera in St. Louis had actually contracted the disease aboard ship and set foot or were abandoned there to die. For example, even in January over 100 cases were brought into the city before the nineteenth of the month. In June, when cholera took a very heavy toll, the *Sultana* docked with 400 choleraic immigrants aboard, a large portion of whom must be accepted as eventual fatalities. The deaths in the city for May and June, 1849, approximated 3,000, and between July 1 and 10 deaths varied between 100 and 200 per day. In the third week of July mortalities dropped to 300, and the epidemic was broken.

Though war years, the early 1860's were not serious for cholera, at least in the civilian population of Missouri. In 1866 and 1867 St. Louis maintained its position as the hotbed of cholera, losing 50 to 60 persons per day at the height of the scourge. At the same time, Kansas City escaped with five to ten deaths, and only 117 deaths were recorded from cholera there during the entire year of 1866.

The epidemic of 1873 is one of the best documented due to a governmental survey, but this was considerably milder than those previous, as only 392 died of cholera in St. Louis from May until October that year, while nearly that many died every ten days in the 1849 outbreak. In any event these deaths were carefully tabulated as to residence (half were south of Choteau Avenue), sex (nearly equal for each), race (the predominant Caucasian race suffered the most deaths), marital status (about equal for single vs. married), and age and month of death.

*Classification of cholera and enteric diseases.* The modern day physician of this country, though never having seen a case of cholera, would probably have little trouble recognizing the disease. This is probably true of the physicians of the 1800's as well, yet there was a certain number of them, especially in the early stages of the epidemics, who hesitated to make such a diagnosis. Social and political pressures (a cholera infested city was skirted by travelers and avoided by local persons, creating a poor season for business men) were also apparently responsible for many cases of dysentery, "bloody flux," summer complaint, diarrhea, and other bowel

complaints which were actually cholera. On the other hand it must be admitted that many non-choleraic intestinal diseases were epidemic in those times and complicated the diagnosis. The doubts of the practitioners were probably responsible for the diverse terms used, some of which were cholera morbus, cholera spasmodica, cholera sporadica, cholera infantum, "cholera nervous," cholera asphyxia, cholera nostra, sailor's fever, cholera and cholera Asiatica, most of which were designed to remove the fear associated with the latter two terms.

The fear associated with cholera was justly deserved. It spread rapidly through a community and killed within a few hours of the initial attack. A laborer could go to work in perfect health and be dead by noon, or be called home to witness the death of his wife and family before sundown. The extensive vomiting and diarrhea served as efficient means of spreading the deadly cholera bacilli. No wonder that physicians, for fear of erroneously upsetting their patients, often withheld final diagnosis until their colleagues had viewed the ill person.

*Treatment of cholera.* Remedies for cholera were even more varied than the physicians who ordered them, as many would alter



*Edwards and Hopewell, Edwards's Great West*

**Dr. John Sappington**

their prescriptions as the epidemic progressed. Dr. R. S. Anderson of the St. Louis Quarantine Hospital recommended morphine injections, frictions with mustard, hot baths, and general applications of warmth. It was generally agreed that if one had showed no restraint in eating fresh fruit and corn a dose of calomel was protective against cholera. Dr. Sappington condemned bleeding and favored hot toddies and warming treatments. Dr. John Trader of Sedalia claimed success as late as 1884 with a mixture of glycer-

erin, phenol, chloroform, opium, camphor, and menthol water. In 1901, Dr. John Zahorsky of St. Louis advocated a bismuth preparation for adults and flavored dilute sulfuric acid syrup for



children. Dr. William Jewell advised calomel and opium in the early stages of disease but later in the ailment a very large dose of calomel, abdominal mustard poultices, bleeding if the person was not feebled by intemperance, and even castor oil purges.

A German immigrant noted that the St. Louis German-trained physicians "have the distinction of delivering their patients most quickly to the grave, whereas, American-trained doctors apply the opposite treatment with recovery or prolonged life." Among the innovations in therapy were water injections (still practiced in a modified form today) and the radical practice of abdominal surgery with opening of the bowel for antiseptic purges which, however, was soon discarded. As fundamental as many of the past therapies may seem, it is still a blot upon medicine's progress to realize that even today cholera treatment is still inadequate and the principle control of cholera has been through public health measures.

*Medical and social impact of cholera.* It is quite clear that the social impact of cholera has been rarely equaled in American history. The fear and panic that should cause a city to overthrow its government and to call for a day of National prayer and fasting are beyond our modern imagination. The medical impact was also historic. The establishment of the Quarantine Hospital below St. Louis, the Government cholera survey of 1873, the construction of hospitals in St. Louis, the closing of schools and their conversion to hospitals, the search for a true cholera cure, the construction of sewage systems, and the loss of many physicians to cholera contracted from their patients are all a part of Missouri's medical heritage brought upon her by a disease which she should never see again.



## THE MANAGEMENT OF ORGANIZED WAGON TRAINS ON THE OVERLAND TRAIL

BY LESLIE L. D. SHAFFER\*

The gold rush of 1849-1850 was one of the most dramatic episodes in modern history, and the overland journey to California required considerable managerial skill. Beyond the Missouri River lay some 2,000 miles of unsettled territory to be crossed, an area with plains, deserts, high mountains, and wandering Indian tribes. It required three to four months to make the journey, taking all necessary supplies along. Obviously a trip of such dimensions called for careful planning and organization in addition to a high degree of determination.

In order to determine the managerial practices of organized wagon trains making this journey, 25 original diaries have been examined. Types of organizations have been considered, including the various constitutions, bylaws, financial arrangements, and the selection of officers. Attention has been directed to the planning techniques, loads carried, types of wagons and animals utilized, and management of the wagon train. For the most part, this examination has been confined to companies traveling the South Pass route.

*The Extent of the Westward Migration.* The number of emigrants going overland by the South Pass in 1849 and 1850 cannot be ascertained with certainty. The most reliable estimates are based on the records maintained at Forts Kearney and Laramie. The 1849 count, reported in November of 1849, was nearly 8,000 wagons, 30,000 people, and 80,000 draught animals for the previous 18 months.<sup>1</sup> The government of California in its application for statehood in 1850 reported a population increase of 81,000 for 1849. Of this number it estimated that 30,000 arrived by way of the South Pass route.<sup>2</sup> Since the traffic was equally as heavy in 1850, a reasonable total for the two years might be established at 50,000 to 60,000.

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<sup>1</sup>*Executive Document*, 31st Congress, 1st Session, III, Pt. 1, 1850, Serial No. 569, 225.

<sup>2</sup>*Senate Misc. Documents*, 31st Congress, 1st Session, No. 68.



*From a contemporary sketch by Amos Bargdoll, courtesy Constitution-Tribune*

#### **An Overland Train Passing Through Chillicothe in 1849**

The people combining into caravans to cross the plains came from all classes of American society. There were farmers who had left their New England farms and plantation owners from the South. The mechanic made the trip, as did the minister, the shop-keeper, and the artist. The honest man could be in the same company with the dishonest or wanted man. The successful might share the same mess with the unsuccessful. The invalid was present, convinced that a new climate would work wonders. One company had an ex-governor, another a future governor, and a third a future State Supreme Court Chief Justice. The majority were young or middle-aged men, taking a good portion of their wealth with them.<sup>3</sup>

They came from all areas but primarily from the Mississippi Valley; Ohio, Indiana, Iowa, Illinois, Wisconsin, and Missouri contributed the major share of the emigrants. The pioneer instinct remained strong in this region. The people were mainly farmers or living in farming communities and understood livestock and wagons and the problems involved in living off the land. Also, they could afford to make the trip, since they already owned wagons and livestock.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>3</sup>The roster of the Washington City and California Mining Association shows 66 men ranging in age from 15 to 50. The average age was 28 and the mode 25. Only four members were over 43 years of age.

<sup>4</sup>"Nothing is required upon this route, but such teams and provisions, as the farmer must necessarily have at home . . . it costs him nothing but his time. . . ." Lansford Hastings, *The Emigrants Guide*, (Cincinnati, 1845), 142.

The number of companies with some type of organization can only be surmised. It appears that most of the emigrants started out, at least, as part of an organized wagon train. The St. Louis newspapers between March and May, 1849, listed companies by the hundreds and members by the thousands. All of the diarists gave reports of many companies on the trail "passing," "being passed," or in camp.

Although the spark that set this mass movement into action was the discovery of gold in California, the underlying motive was deeper—the result of a basic restlessness that caused men to make this effort. It represented a continuation of the westward movement, the desire to fill up the land; also, it provided the opportunity to see what lay on the other side of the Rockies. So the cry was "Ho! for California" with a chance to "see the elephant."<sup>5</sup>

*Planning the Overland Journey.* Throughout the country individuals and groups alike made plans for the trip to the Far West. There were numerous details to be resolved. The guide books were consulted, and many arguments and discussions resulted from the limited information they contained.

Since the migration was composed of heterogenous elements, the individual outfits usually showed great variety. The average emigrant was an individualist with his own ideas about equipment and livestock. The different outfits were well described by Lodisa Frizzell when she wrote, "There is every description of teams and wagons; from a handcart and wheelbarrow to a fine six-horse carriage and buggy; but more than two-thirds are oxen and wagons similar to our own."<sup>6</sup>

The majority of emigrants represented small groups of from eight to 16 men who acquired their own outfits. Many used ordinary farm wagons that were homemade as wagonmaking was still important as a home craft. The Conestoga wagon, built like a ship, curved both lengthwise and crosswise, with the bows following the curved contour of its body, was very popular. The Mississippi Valley prairie schooner differed from the Conestoga wagon in several respects. Its body was straight and box-like, and its bows were vertical. Also, it did not represent the same quality of work-

<sup>5</sup>This saying originated with the showing of a famous whitewashed elephant by P. T. Barnum in his circus. Originally, "to see the elephant" was the equivalent of allowing oneself to be "taken in" or hoaxed. Later it was associated with any particular hardship or ordeal. It reached its maximum use about the time of the gold rush. It was another expression for going to California.

<sup>6</sup>L. Frizzell, *Across the Plains to California in 1852*, (New York, 1915), 10.

manship. These wagons varied in size, since each wagonmaker had his own design, and the larger ones could carry up to 3,500 pounds.

Varied opinion existed concerning the type of animals that should be used. In general the guide books favored oxen, and most emigrants seemed to agree. Oxen were less expensive, they did not stampede easily, and they could be used as beef when necessary.

Of the 25 companies studied, all but two made the journey by wagon train. Fourteen used oxen, three used horses, four used mules, and two used a combination of horses and mules. The remaining two companies (The Mt. Washington Mining Company and the Granite State and California Mining Company) made the journey by pack train, using saddle horses and pack mules.

Despite the advice of the experienced travelers who suggested light spring wagons, most of the companies used heavy wagons that were overloaded for the animals. In addition to a large quantity of food (often a year's supply), the wagon load often contained an assortment of household goods, farming implements, personal effects, and gold mining devices. As a consequence it became necessary to lighten the loads after the first few days of travel. The care of the animals was of major importance, and walking became compulsory. With but few exceptions, such as the very young, the sick, and those with riding animals, a major portion of the emigrants made the journey on foot.<sup>7</sup>

The major expenses involved in the trip related to the cost of the outfit. For the farmer this presented no problem since he already had wagons and livestock. However, the non-farmer had to purchase his outfit in a seller's market. A good wagon cost \$75 to \$150. The Charleston Company purchased 16 at a price of \$120 each. The Jefferson California Company bought light wagons for \$98 each and a complete outfit consisting of wagon, six mules, a pony, and all necessary harness cost \$506. If oxen were used (at \$50 the yoke) the total price would fall to about \$420. On the basis of four men to a wagon, this would be \$100 to \$125 each. With the additional expenses of food supplies, guns, and other equipment, the total cost approximated \$200 per emigrant.

For the large companies that combined expenses in order to acquire complete outfits the costs were somewhat higher. The Washington City Company paid all the expenses of its members

<sup>7</sup>The shortest time for the trip was made by the Sawyer Company using mules and horses (77 days); the longest time, by the Sacramento Mining Company (207 days). The latter company took a route south through Utah, arriving at Chino, California, after losing all its livestock. The average time for the 25 companies was 132 days.

but charged each member \$300. The price set on a share in the Cumberland Company was \$500, a relatively high cost at the time.

Soon after the first of March the emigrants began to arrive at the starting point. The companies from the Mississippi Valley states generally drove their outfits to the frontier, while those that came from farther east found it practical to transport wagons and animals at least part way by river steamer. Some companies arrived at Independence or St. Joseph, purchased their entire outfit, and made camp a few miles outside of town. By the end of April thousands would be on hand, making last minute plans and waiting for the prairie grass to grow tall enough to feed the livestock. Eventually the "jump off" would be set, and the first wagons would "roll out." They were followed by additional emigrants until the trail from the starting point to Fort Laramie was one long line of migrants.<sup>8</sup>

*Organizing the Wagon Train.* From the beginning of the Santa Fe trade in 1820 it was customary for the traders to stop after a few days travel from the Missouri River to elect a captain. The Oregon caravans also followed this practice, adding additional officers as well as written agreements. Consequently, a procedure for organization had been established when the large migrations of 1849-1850 appeared.

The majority of emigrants were interested in joining forces with other travelers for mutual protection. They organized casually and out of necessity rather than with any common economic objectives in mind. The gold fields were 2,000 miles away, and it seemed practical to join forces as there would be economy in keeping all the livestock together guarded by only a few men, in selecting campsites, and in mutual aid when it was needed. Also, a certain amount of organization and discipline would be useful in crossing streams and other obstacles. The military arrangements agreed upon in some companies were undoubtedly influenced by members who were frontiersmen or ex-soldiers.

The result was considerable variety in the form and efficiency of the various companies. Some were large and others small; some were completely organized, while others made rules as they were needed. The McPike train from Missouri was a passenger train

<sup>8</sup>"The banks of the South Platte seemed to be lined with large trains, moving on both sides of the river. . . . They could be seen as far as the eye extended." Major O. Cross, "Report of the Mounted Riflemen," *Senate Executive Documents*, 31st Congress, No. 1, Part 2, 137.

consisting of 200 members. The Wheelbarrow Train was represented by five Irishmen, each pushing his own wheelbarrow. Companies of this nature were exceptions, but they indicate the great diversity in the groups making the journey. Usually a company would consist of from 30 to 70 people; anything larger was considered cumbersome.<sup>9</sup>

A few enterprising individuals and several small groups struck out on their own, but they were usually the impatient, the overconfident, or the late comers. In many cases they remained near larger companies or later joined them on the trail.

Generally companies did not achieve final organization until they reached the first river crossing in Kansas Territory. Perhaps this was due to a desire to postpone discipline for as long as possible. Also, the river towns on the Missouri had some degree of law and order, and knowledge of this was adequate for the first few days of travel. However, a halt would eventually be called, and the emigrants would proceed to elect officers and adopt codes of rules. In a majority of cases, and depending upon the size of the company, a captain, president, and colonel or commander-in-chief were elected. The smaller companies usually selected a captain, while the larger companies favored the prestige titles. Often the elections were accompanied with much oratory concerning the relative merits of each candidate. One emigrant described an election that he witnessed and in which the candidates actually run for office: "The candidates stood up . . . and at a given signal they wheeled about and marched off, while the general mass broke after them 'lick-a-ty-split', each man forming in behind his favorite so that every candidate flourished a sort of tail of his own, and the man with the longest tail was elected!"<sup>10</sup>

Additional officers, usually including a second in command, would either be elected or appointed by the captain, depending on the desires of the members. In several instances the company was divided into divisions, each with its own commander. A variety of other posts might include a treasurer, secretary, quartermaster, and several sergeants and corporals. Sometimes guards and scouts were elected. A few of the larger trains chose a pilot or guide, although more frequently he was hired at the "jump off."

<sup>9</sup>Of the 25 companies analyzed, the smallest consisted of 5 emigrants with two wagons, and the largest, 84 emigrants with 21 wagons. The average was 41 people and 12 wagons. Nineteen of the companies were informal, and six were of a joint-stock character.

<sup>10</sup>"Prairie and Mountain Life—The Oregon Emigrants," *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, 1 (December 1900), 399, quoting the *New Orleans Picayune*, November 21, 1843.

A number of companies had a wagon master, whose job was to build bridges and keep the wagons rolling. Many trains had a doctor or surgeon, whose profession excused him from the usual camp duties. A few other staff officers were elected if the company felt it was necessary.<sup>11</sup> In addition, companies frequently created a council to advise the officers and to administer justice. Often the council consisted of the officers plus some representatives elected at large.

Once the officers were elected the company proceeded to adopt a set of rules which in general pledged all members to assist each other in case of loss of team, wagons, or supplies, or in sickness or accident. The duties of each officer were spelled out in the agreement or in a set of bylaws. When the final agreement was considered satisfactory it was signed by every able-bodied man in the company. The captain then assigned the night guard and issued marching orders for the next day, and the group of emigrants was ready to proceed as an organized company.

The joint-stock companies were more closely organized groups, bound together by guarantees, elaborate constitutions, and various legal documents. They usually organized before leaving home and consisted of members who were already well acquainted. They drew their plans carefully and had an adequate staff of officers, including a board of directors and several committees assigned to specific functions.

The equipment necessary for the journey was purchased in a block. In some cases the company supplied each member with standard supplies such as clothing, blankets, soap, and guns. The Washington City and the California Mining Company provided uniforms for its members and had them drill as light infantry and qualify at target practice.

The nature of the agreements varied, occasionally including arrangements whereby the proceeds from mining would be divided after a period of time. In all cases the equipment and supplies were owned in common with each member entitled to one share, and if he left the company he forfeited his equity by agreement.<sup>12</sup>

The joint-stock companies were the corporations of the Overland Trail. They were better organized, equipped, and financed than the

<sup>11</sup>The McPike Company had an aid-de-camp, whose duties were to select the camp site each night. The Dayton and Ottawa Company had a chief pioneer, whose job was to hunt.

<sup>12</sup>The California Association also fined the member \$500. It is doubtful that it ever collected such penalties.



informal companies. They were also slightly larger; the six included in this study averaged 48 members each.

*Managing the Wagon Train.* The work of managing the wagon train was no simple matter. The captain and his staff had only nominal authority over a mixed company of people. With the exception of the joint-stock companies there was little or no selection in terms of membership. The outfits might be similar, but the emigrants comprised a cross section of people with a variety of characteristics. In a composite democratic group such as this the officers were expected to make adequate decisions satisfactory to all, and that was simply not possible.

The captain was responsible for selecting the camp sites, directing the order of travel, and organizing guard systems. He was also expected to maintain order and discipline and to preside over the council or company meetings. His staff advised him and carried out the details of his administration. Like the manager of the modern enterprise, he faced a variety of new problems each day. There was one difference, however; the captain's compensation was prestige only.

The requirements of water, wood, and grass for the livestock were a constant concern. The guide books usually gave locations relating to these needs, but they were not always reliable. Also, availability of these basic requirements was often affected by the companies ahead. Consequently the captain had to rely on scouts for current information. It was standard practice to divide the wagons into "divisions" or "messes" so that they might alternate in taking the lead each day.

There were problems involved in crossing streams, at which time the captain might order the wagons raised or the contents unloaded.<sup>13</sup> Also, the management was expected to take every precaution in order to prevent or repel Indian attacks. There were emergencies due to accidents, sickness, and deaths, when the captain had to decide whether or not to call a halt. The Asiatic cholera in particular frightened the emigrants; it was something that they did not know how to combat. Often a cholera attack would prove fatal within a few hours, and the Captain would then make the necessary arrangements and quickly get the wagons moving. In some cases the victims were left to perish on the road.

<sup>13</sup>The small streams with their straight cut banks caused great trouble; almost every diary recorded at least one broken wagon-tongue at such a crossing.



Problems of this nature required considerable diplomacy on the part of the managing staff if it was to keep the respect of the company and maintain harmony. The officers selected were not always the most capable men for these duties. Consequently, managerial skills had to be learned on the job. When this failed it was necessary to elect new officers. However, in some cases, this training developed outstanding leadership which contributed to the success of the train.

The companies endeavored to establish systems of law and order that were simple to administer and yet protected each individual's rights. The captain, the council, or the entire company passed judgment on the offenses. These generally fell into two broad categories: minor infringements of rules and the more serious civil and criminal offenses.

The most frequent charge was the neglect of guard duty. Guarding other peoples' livestock was a disagreeable task, and members would rebel at the assignment. Other minor offenses included breaking the Sabbath, gambling, intoxication, and using offensive language. The penalties usually ranged from fines to extra guard duty. The more serious cases called for a trial by jury. The decisions reached in these actions allowed for no appeal since the company judgment was the law itself. Usually the maximum penalty inflicted was expulsion from the company, although there were occasions when justice required more severe measures.

Few of the wagon trains remained strong enough to continue as organized companies for the entire journey. The great majority broke apart by the time they had reached the South Pass.<sup>14</sup> The emigrants found that the novelty and excitement which existed at the beginning of the adventure had been replaced by much routine and hardship which caused grumbling, shirking of duties, and discontent. The result was that emigrants would continually withdraw, going ahead or dropping behind and joining up with other groups if they could gain an advantage. In a few cases, this occurred even before the "jump off" when arguments developed over wagon loads, routes to be taken, or the time to start. However, the breakdown of organized companies generally began after crossing the Platte River.

There were numerous other reasons why this disintegration took place. The slow rate of progress was a factor which caused many

<sup>14</sup>Of the 25 companies included in this study, five remained intact throughout the journey. One of these was a joint-stock company.

wagons to split off and go ahead.<sup>15</sup> The Steubenville Company of 60 people dissolved into companies of ten when the members became convinced that small groups could travel faster. The frequent halts ordered by the management because of emergencies created discontent. Many felt that these delays were unnecessary since everyone could not be of service. When John Steele's company was held up because livestock were lost in a stampede, almost a third of the emigrants, who had suffered no loss, moved ahead. This was in violation of the written agreement, but there was no way to enforce it. At times disappointed candidates for office complained about the management and the enforcement of regulations. Sometimes this could be overcome by amendments or a change in officers. More often it caused the emigrants to take sides and eventually to split up. In some cases the companies fell apart because the organization was too complex. A case in point was a Tennessee company of 70 which had a military form of government, a constitution, a president and vice president, a legislature, three judges, a court of appeals, and nine sergeants. According to their laws all officers were exempt from camp duties. The result was a rebellion in which 13 wagons pulled out. There were many other causes, including the scarcity of grass for the livestock, the dislike of regulations, guard duty, and disputes over routes. Occasionally a company would divide because of the dictatorial actions of the officers.

During this period when companies were breaking apart there was always a sense of urgency, a desire to keep moving. The end objective was to get beyond the Sierra Nevada Mountains before snows blocked the trail and before the provisions gave out. Consequently, when independent action seemed more appropriate in order to achieve this objective the emigrants would leave the company and move out.

*Evaluation of the Management.* The hardships and difficulties experienced by the emigrants on the Overland Trail were not all of a physical nature. Problems arose in the organization and control of companies as well. The task was large, the distance to be covered was long, and the time in which to make the journey was short. The companies were a mixed group, dominated by the farming element but including all classes of society. The members brought

<sup>15</sup>"We joined a company . . . and stuck together just three days. We did not wish to go into camp after making only 15-20 miles, as many of the ox-teams did." J. M. Stewart, "Overland Trip to California in 1850," *Historical Society of Southern California*, V, (Los Angeles, 1902), 176.

concepts of democracy which were difficult to reconcile with discipline and restraint. They did not seek an ideal social or political system; they were interested in improving their own economic conditions. They wanted to find gold, and they wanted to reach their destination first. They were willing to endure hardships for the sake of the future advantages that opportunity and wealth would bring. What they lacked in experience and knowledge they made up for in determination and self-reliance. With an aggressive spirit of this nature, accompanied by impatience and restless energy, the majority established some kind of wagon train management. The results are clear—the controls they placed on themselves eventually proved unacceptable. There was a desire to govern, but their individualism rejected the idea of being governed.

This does not mean that the company form of organization was entirely unsuccessful. It served a purpose as far as Fort Laramie. Beyond this point the ideals established broke down under the hardships and mental strains of the journey. Even companies that were well organized and had ample means came to grief. The breakups occurred because of mistakes made during the journey as well as factors beyond their control.

The disciplines learned by the emigrants gave an education that would last. The strength and character of every officer and man were tested, often bringing out the best or the worst in each case. The companies that were successful provided knowledge for the emigrants yet to come; the failures served a similar purpose by forcing the emigrants to re-examine their group relationships.

The managerial experiences acquired during the journey brought a new leadership to the Far West. Many officers, as well as members, rose to positions of authority and responsibility in their communities. Their understanding of group effort as well as individual freedom enabled them to direct the development of Western resources and improvements more effectively. In addition, almost every member acquired a confidence in the West and its opportunities. Together, they had seen the elephant and had taken it in their stride.

## THE ADMISSION OF MISSOURI TO THE CONFEDERACY

BY ARTHUR ROY KIRKPATRICK\*

Immediately following the Battle of Boonville, Governor Jackson started his retreat toward the southern part of the State. He appeared at his home in Arrow Rock the next day; and two days later he and his troops under Generals M. M. Parsons and John B. Clark were reported at Syracuse, on the Pacific Railroad.<sup>1</sup> He then disappeared from Central Missouri, leaving its newspapers to conjecture as to his whereabouts. At the same time General Sterling Price was on his way to General Ben McCulloch's camp in northern Arkansas,<sup>2</sup> having left General James S. Rains in command at Lexington with orders to follow as quickly as his forces were gathered and in shape to march.<sup>3</sup>

Jackson reached Cole Camp on June 21, and here he was reinforced by several companies of militia.<sup>4</sup> He also encountered a body of Federal "home guards" at Cole Camp and dispersed them without any great difficulty.<sup>5</sup> At Warsaw he again paused for rest and reinforcement. Here he was joined by a company with the four brass cannon taken from the Liberty Arsenal.<sup>6</sup> At Warsaw, Jackson learned that General Price had gone on south to meet McCulloch and that Lyon, after a delay of several days to secure wagons and supplies, was at last on the march in pursuit of Jackson's own small force. The Governor set his army in motion again and arrived shortly at Lamar, where he established a camp. Here he was reinforced on July 3 by the troops from Lexington under

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His article in the January *Review* examined the State on the eve of the Civil War. In the April *Review* he discussed the opening phase of the war in Missouri and presented an analysis of "behind-the-scenes" events of which the public was not generally aware. In this article he quickly examines the war in the summer of 1861 and then describes the procedure by which Missouri was admitted to the Confederate States of America.

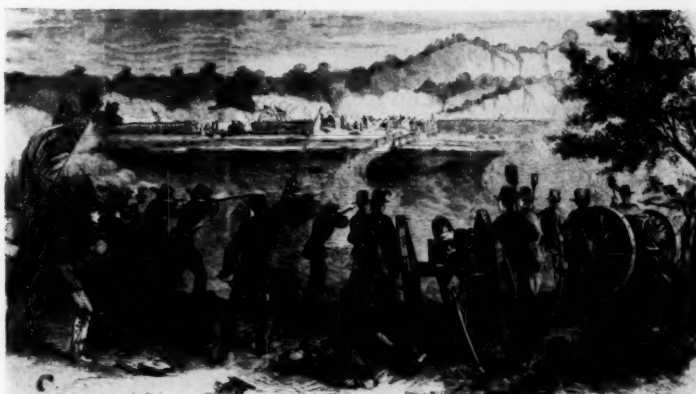
<sup>1</sup>Columbia *Missouri Statesman*, June 28, 1861.

<sup>2</sup>Thomas L. Snead, "First Year of the War," in Robert U. Johnson and Clarence C. Buel, editors, *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War* (New York, 1887-1888), I, 268.

<sup>3</sup>Governor Jackson was ex officio commander in chief of the Missouri State Guard and was in personal command of the troops present at this time. His previous military experience was limited to service with a militia company in the Black Hawk War, (John McElroy, *The Struggle for Missouri* (Washington, 1913), 75) but he retained personal command until General Price joined him following the Battle of Carthage.

<sup>4</sup>Edward A. Pollard, *Southern History of the War* (New York, 1865), I, 129-30.

<sup>5</sup>*Missouri Statesman*, June 28, 1861; Thomas L. Snead, *Fight for Missouri* (New York, 1888), 216-17.



Harper's Weekly, August 3, 1861

### The Battle of Carthage

Generals James S. Rains and William Y. Slack. Jackson's troops were tired and disorganized from the long march and, despite the danger from Lyon, he felt it was necessary to camp for several days. He began at once to organize the odds and ends of companies and individual volunteers into a coherent military command. The troops were assigned to the command of the four brigadier generals present according to the militia districts in which they lived.<sup>6</sup> Snead gave Jackson's strength at Lamar at 4,105 armed men, about 800 unarmed men, and seven field guns.<sup>7</sup>

Before leaving St. Louis, Lyon had ordered Colonel Franz Sigel to Springfield to prevent any attempt by the State forces to join the Confederate troops in Arkansas. Sigel's forces had gone by railroad as far as Rolla and then marched overland to Springfield. On July 4 Jackson received word at Lamar of Sigel's movements. He quickly completed the reorganization of his forces and ordered them to march at once.<sup>8</sup> On the following day, near Carthage, the State forces met and defeated Sigel, who retreated to Mount Vernon.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>6</sup>Pollard, *Southern History of the War*, I, 131. All of the general officers mentioned were appointed by Governor Jackson and commissioned by the State Adjutant General under terms of the Militia Act, passed by the called session of the General Assembly in May, 1861. Their appointments were approved by the State legislature at Cassville in November, 1861.

<sup>7</sup>Snead, *Fight for Missouri*, 218-19.

<sup>8</sup>G. O. No. 16 and No. 17, Hq. Mo. State Guard, Camp Lamar, July 4, 1861. U. S. War Department, *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and the Confederate Armies* (Washington: 1880-1902), I, LIII, 705-06. Hereafter referred to as *O. R. R.*

<sup>9</sup>Report, Colonel Franz Sigel, Springfield, Missouri, July 11, 1861, *O. R. R.*, I, III, 16-19; report, Brigadier General John B. Clark, Mo. State Guard, July 19, 1861, *O. R. R.*, I, III, 31.

On July 6, a short distance south of Carthage, Jackson's command made contact with the troops under Price and McCulloch, who had come north to rescue the Governor from Sigel.<sup>10</sup> With the heady combination of victory and reinforcement the spirits of all the troops rose, and the future which had seemed so dark was now bright with hope.

After having determined that Sigel no longer constituted a danger, McCulloch and his Confederate troops returned to Arkansas. General Price assumed command of all the State forces present and, with the Governor, marched them into camp at Cowskin Prairie in McDonald County on July 9.<sup>11</sup>

General Price spent the next two weeks at Cowskin Prairie on the almost superhuman task of turning his raw recruits into an army fit for combat and in producing necessary military equipment. Jackson authorized Price to reorganize the Missouri State Guard into five divisions with regimental, battalion, and company organizations and each division commanded by a brigadier general.<sup>12</sup> Major Snead, who was present as Price's Chief of Ordnance and acting Adjutant General, later wrote an interesting account, describing the efforts of inexperienced officers using a turning lathe, a blacksmith shop, and a tinner's establishment and tools, to fabricate equipment for the army to use in the coming campaign.<sup>13</sup>

Following Governor Jackson's flight from Jefferson City, two members of the State Government fell into the hands of Federal authorities. Alfred W. Morrison, the State Treasurer, was captured at Hermann on June 18 and returned to Jefferson City as a prisoner. No money was found in his possession, and he was released after turning his books and papers over to Colonel Henry Boernstein, the Federal commander in the capital city.<sup>14</sup> Attorney General J. Proctor Knott remained in Jefferson City but refused to take an oath of allegiance to the United States and was held a prisoner.<sup>15</sup> By June 18 Colonel Boernstein had locked up all departments of the State Government, awaiting future action by the State Convention.<sup>16</sup>

Governor Jackson remained at Cowskin Prairie only long enough to see the reorganization and training of the State guard

<sup>10</sup>Snead, *Fight for Missouri*, 237-238.

<sup>11</sup>*Ibid.*, 239.

<sup>12</sup>G. O. No. 3, Hq. Mo. State Guard, Cowskin Prairie, July 11, 1861, *O. R.*, I, LIII, 710-11.

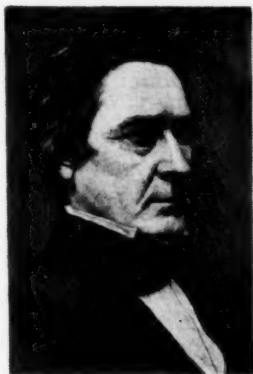
<sup>13</sup>Snead, *Fight for Missouri*, 239-43; Snead, "First Year of the War," 269.

<sup>14</sup>*Missouri Statesman*, June 28, 1861.

<sup>15</sup>*Little Rock Arkansas State Gazette*, July 6, 1861.

<sup>16</sup>*Missouri Statesman*, June 28, 1861.

started. He had received word that the State Convention had been called to meet in Jefferson City on July 22, and he was certain that one of its first acts would be to depose his government and organize another under Federal control. While there was nothing that Jackson could do to prevent this, he hoped to get a strong Confederate army sent into the State as quickly as possible. With such assistance in force, he believed that Price could regain and hold a large part of Missouri before a federally controlled provisional government could gain much prestige and influence. Jackson realized that it was absolutely essential for his own government to retain the allegiance of the great majority of Missouri's citizens, and he appears to have adopted the only intelligent course then open to him.



David Rice Atchison

Accompanied by his aide, former United States Senator David R. Atchison, the Governor left Cowskin Prairie on July 12. The journey through the Boston Mountains of northern Arkansas took exactly one week, and on July 19 Jackson and Atchison arrived in Little Rock where they were welcomed by Governor Henry Rector. Jackson addressed an enthusiastic audience the day he arrived, thanking his listeners for their sympathy and good wishes.<sup>17</sup> After resting over night Jackson and his aide left the city and on July 22 reached Memphis, Tennessee, where they con-

sulted with General Leonidas Polk, commanding the Western Department of the Confederate Army. General Polk consented to send General Gideon Pillow into Missouri by way of New Madrid, and Governor Jackson agreed to delay his trip to Richmond in order to return to Missouri with Pillow.<sup>18</sup>

After giving the matter additional consideration, however, Jackson decided that seeing President Davis as quickly as possible was even more important than returning to Missouri at that time. Pillow's "Army of Liberation" entered Missouri and occupied New Madrid on July 28,<sup>19</sup> but Governor Jackson had already

<sup>17</sup>*Arkansas True Democrat*, July 25, 1861.

<sup>18</sup>Letter, L. Polk to L. P. Walker, Memphis, Tennessee, July 23, 1861, *O. R. R.*, I, III, 612-14.

<sup>19</sup>Letter, L. Polk to L. P. Walker, Memphis, Tennessee, July 30, 1861, *O. R. R.*, I, III, 620.



arrived in Richmond two days before.<sup>20</sup> Jackson and Atchison registered at the Spotswood House, and word soon spread throughout the city that the Governor of Missouri was there. A large crowd gathered before the hotel that evening, and Jackson told it of his action against Lyon. In response to the cheers of the crowd the Governor conducted a patriotic rally. He stated that Missouri and Virginia were going to be the battlefield of the War and that all true Southerners should be fighting the enemy in one place or the other. He promised to return to Missouri as soon as his business in the city was completed and to drive the "Yankee invader" from the soil of his state.<sup>21</sup>

Jackson had several conferences with President Davis during his short stay in Richmond. Davis apparently developed more confidence in Jackson after meeting him and talking with him personally,<sup>22</sup> and he promised the Governor financial aid as soon as money for that purpose could be appropriated by the Congress.<sup>23</sup> With relatively cordial relations established with the Confederate President and a promise of money to pay his troops in the field, Governor Jackson started with a lighter heart and he was happy and confident as he left the train at Memphis on July 31.<sup>24</sup>

Jackson remained overnight in Memphis, and after a short meeting with General Polk he left for General Pillow's headquarters at New Madrid, Missouri. Arriving there with Atchison on August 2 or 3, Jackson found Lieutenant Governor Reynolds already with General Pillow. The three Missouri leaders conferred for two days, thoroughly discussing the military and political situation in the State and the need for action to provide a legal basis for negotiation with the Confederacy. On August 5, Jackson issued a proclamation from New Madrid, declaring Missouri an independent and sovereign state. He justified this action on constitutional grounds, listing violations of the United States Constitution and of the sovereignty of the State of Missouri by the

<sup>20</sup>*The Daily Richmond Enquirer*, July 27, 1861.

<sup>21</sup>*The Daily Richmond Enquirer*, July 29, 1861. Jackson's speech impressed not only the cheering crowd but also a reporter from the *Enquirer* who referred to him affectionately as the "Game Cock Governor."

<sup>22</sup>Reynolds later wrote that Cabell gave considerable credit for Davis' improved attitude toward Jackson to Senator Atchison, with whom he was friendly. (Thomas C. Reynolds, "General Price and the Confederacy," unfinished memoir in Reynolds Manuscript Collection, Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis, 47.)

<sup>23</sup>Reynolds, "General Price and the Confederacy," 47; letter, T. C. Reynolds to J. Davis, St. Louis, November 13, 1880, Reynolds Papers, Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis.

<sup>24</sup>Memphis, Tennessee, *Avanche*, August 1, 1861, cited in *Missouri Statesman*, August 9, 1861.



Federal authorities.<sup>25</sup> His logic was excellent; but his assumption of the right, even provisionally, to take Missouri out of the Union, from the Rebellion Act of May 10, 1861, was of very doubtful validity. The Confederate Government recognized the independence of Missouri only after action by the General Assembly, meeting in Neosho and Cassville in October and November of the same year.<sup>26</sup>

Governor Jackson returned to Memphis on the day after he issued his declaration of independence,<sup>27</sup> while the Lieutenant Governor remained in Missouri for the time being, spending most of August with the State troops under Brigadier General M. Jeff Thompson.

The money that President Davis had promised was appropriated by the Confederate Congress on August 6, \$1,000,000 for the use of Missouri troops co-operating with those of the Confederacy.<sup>28</sup> Jackson received word of the appropriation from Cabell on August 8, and immediately thanked Cabell for the information and asked him to urge President Davis to appoint a major general to command all Confederate forces west of the Mississippi River. He authorized Cabell to promise that he would order all troops of the Missouri State Guard to act under the command of any general appointed. He also enclosed a copy of his declaration of independence to be shown to the President.<sup>29</sup>

Jackson had returned to General Polk's headquarters in Memphis with high hopes that a concerted effort by Price and McCulloch in the west and Pillow, Hardee, and Thompson in the



*Columbia Missouri Herald, January 26, 1900*

**Confederate Capitol at Neosho**

<sup>25</sup>*Missouri Statesman*, August 23, 1861.

<sup>26</sup>Reynolds later reported that he had actually written Jackson's declaration of independence after consultation with the Governor and Atchison. (Memorandum, St. Louis, June 2, 1886, Reynolds Papers, St. Louis.) The Lieutenant Governor had issued a similar provisional declaration of independence from General Pillow's camp on July 31. (Record and Pension Office, War Department, *Organization and Status of Missouri Troops (Union and Confederate) In Service during the Civil War* (Washington, D.C., 1902), 242.) He had done so because he did not then know of Jackson's exact whereabouts and believed that action was necessary to counteract the influence of the new provisional government in Jefferson City.

<sup>27</sup>Letter, G. Pillow to L. Polk, New Madrid, Missouri, August 6, 1861, *O. R. R.*, I, III, 631.

<sup>28</sup>Act of August 6, 1861, *O. R. R.*, I, LIII, 721.

<sup>29</sup>Letter, C. F. Jackson to E. C. Cabell, Memphis, Tennessee, August 8, 1861, *O. R. R.*, I, III, 639.

east would be able to catch the Federal forces south of the Missouri River in a pincers movement and destroy them. He wrote General Price on August 10 discussing this plan and telling of his Richmond trip and of the financial aid just granted by the Congress. He reported that he hoped to leave for Pillow's camp the following day and to get the campaign started as quickly as possible.<sup>30</sup> Despite the Governor's enthusiasm, General Polk felt that his forces were not yet strong enough to undertake such a campaign immediately. Jackson decided, therefore, to hurry on west to Price's army. He believed that it would be possible for the State guard to retake a respectable portion of Missouri with the help of McCulloch's forces. On August 13 he wrote directly to President Davis, telling him of his plan to leave for McCulloch's and Price's camp that day and thanking him warmly for the recent appropriation.<sup>31</sup> The same day he wrote General Polk, authorizing General James Harding, Quartermaster General of Missouri, to act for him in requisitioning funds and supplies for the Missouri State guard under the act of August 6.<sup>32</sup>

On the 16th Cabell received Jackson's letter concerning the appointment of a general and referred the matter to Davis immediately. He also showed the President a letter from Reynolds in which the latter requested the appointment of an "able general in the field and commanding the whole valley of the Mississippi."<sup>33</sup> Cabell told the President that he was authorized to say that General Price would allow no question of rank to interfere with military movements in Missouri by any Confederate general named to command.<sup>34</sup>

General Price had taken his army out of camp at Cowskin Prairie on July 25 and joined McCulloch and the Arkansas forces under General N. B. Pearce near Cassville, Missouri, on the 29th, placing himself and his troops temporarily under McCulloch's command. Price had planned to attack Lyon's troops, who were

<sup>30</sup>Letter, C. F. Jackson to S. Price, Memphis, Tennessee, August 10, 1861, *O. R. R.*, I, LIII, 722-23.

<sup>31</sup>Letter, C. F. Jackson to J. Davis, Memphis, Tennessee, August 13, 1861, *O. R. R.*, I, LIII, 725.

<sup>32</sup>Letter, C. F. Jackson to L. Polk, Memphis, Tennessee, August 13, 1861, *O. R. R.*, I, III, 646.

<sup>33</sup>Although Jackson and Reynolds were not together, their separate appraisals of the military situation led to the same conclusion, that a unified command in the West was absolutely necessary for Confederate success in the area.

<sup>34</sup>Letter, E. C. Cabell to J. Davis, Richmond, August 16, 1861, *O. R. R.*, I, III, 652-53. On September 2, 1861, Major General Leonidas Polk's command was extended to embrace all of Arkansas and all military operations in the State of Missouri, S. O. No. 141, War Department, Richmond, September 2, 1861, *O. R. R.*, I, III, 691.

then occupying Springfield, and had requested the help of McCulloch's Confederates. McCulloch had declined to consider moving further into Missouri until Price agreed to a unified command under himself. To this Price agreed despite the fact that McCulloch was only a brigadier general.<sup>35</sup>

On August 10 the Confederate and State forces under McCulloch, Price, and Pearce won a decisive victory over Lyon at Oak Hill (Wilson's Creek)<sup>36</sup> and immediately occupied Springfield. General Lyon was killed in this engagement, and most of his army retreated to the rail terminus at Rolla.<sup>37</sup>

Immediately following the battle at Oak Hill, personal antagonism and a basic difference over military strategy led to rapidly deteriorating relations between Price and McCulloch. Realizing that no organized Federal forces now stood between him and the Missouri River, Price urged an immediate move to reoccupy the entire western portion of the State, at least as far north as the river. McCulloch, who openly expressed his contempt both for the Missouri troops and for their leader, refused to consider such a campaign. He reported that he believed the "undisciplined and politician led" Missouri troops to be in no condition to meet an organized army and wrote General Hardee that he was afraid to stay with Price lest his own troops be demoralized.<sup>38</sup> He returned to Arkansas shortly thereafter.

On August 14, just four days after the battle, General Price resumed full command of the Missouri State troops. Through an agreement with McCulloch all artillery pieces which they had

<sup>35</sup>Report, S. Price to C. F. Jackson, Springfield, Missouri, August 12, 1861, *O. R. R.*, I, III, 98-100.

<sup>36</sup>This battle was called Oak Hill or Oak Hills in Confederate correspondence and newspapers. In the North it was known as Wilson's Creek.

<sup>37</sup>Report, S. Price to C. F. Jackson, Springfield, Missouri, August 12, 1861, *O. R. R.*, I, III, 98-100.

<sup>38</sup>Letter, B. McCulloch to W. J. Hardee, Springfield, Missouri, April 24, 1861, *O. R. R.*, I, III, 672. There was, doubtless, considerable truth in McCulloch's opinion of the Missouri troops. They were green militia with little training, and most of their officers were men of political standing in their local communities, rather than of military experience. General Pillow also complained of the "inefficient condition" of the Missouri troops in Southeast Missouri. (Letter, G. Pillow to L. Polk, New Madrid, August 9, 1861, *O. R. R.*, I, III, 638-40.) On the other hand, McCulloch officially admitted the skill and bravery with which Price and his troops fought at Oak Hill. (Report, B. McCulloch to J. P. Benjamin, Richmond, December 22, 1861, *O. R. R.*, I, III, 743-49.) It appears, therefore, that McCulloch's refusal to accompany Price to Lexington was due to personal reasons and to an honest belief that Price was taking too big a chance rather than to a fear that the Missourians would demoralize his troops. The degree of success achieved by Price at Lexington without Confederate help indicates that his strategy at this point was reasonably sound. The Confederates might have held a much larger portion of Missouri throughout the winter had they been strong enough to remain at Lexington for sufficient time to draw and arm additional recruits from north of the river.

captured were turned over to the latter's command but all other captured materiel was retained.<sup>39</sup>

Realizing the danger to the secessionist cause in Missouri should any considerable number of her citizens accept the new pro-Federal provisional government as the legal government of the State, Price determined to take action to prevent this. In a proclamation bearing the dateline of Jefferson City, August 20, 1861, but quite evidently issued at Springfield,<sup>40</sup> he informed the people that his army had been legally constituted under laws of the State for their safety. He promised the full protection of the State guard to all citizens, regardless of their sympathies, except for those who had taken an active part in the "cruel war against the state." At the same time he warned all against supporting "the usurpations of anyone claiming to be the provisional or temporary governor of Missouri" or in any other way giving aid or comfort to the enemy; such persons would be considered enemies and treated accordingly.<sup>41</sup>

Less than a week later his army marched northward toward the Missouri.<sup>42</sup> Detouring only long enough to defeat and disperse a



Harper's Weekly, October 12, 1861

#### Charge of the Irish Brigade Over the Breastworks at Lexington

<sup>39</sup>Orders, S. Price, Springfield, Missouri, August 14, 1861, *O. R. R.*, I, LIII, 727-28.

<sup>40</sup>General Price's headquarters were located at Springfield at this time, and Jefferson City was firmly in the possession of Federal troops. The name of the capital city was more impressive to the people of the State than that of Springfield and evidently was used by General Price for this reason.

<sup>41</sup>Proclamation, S. Price, Jefferson City, August 20, 1861, *O. R. R.*, I, LIII, 730.

<sup>42</sup>G. O. No. 20, Hq. Mo. State Guard, Springfield, Missouri, August 24, 1861, *O. R. R.*, I, LIII, 732.

large band of guerrillas under Jim Lane near Fort Scott, Kansas, Price's forces reached Warrensburg on September 11. Here the march was halted until almost ten o'clock the next morning because of heavy rain that raised the small streams in the area. Nonetheless, advance units of the army reached the Missouri River within site of Lexington the night of the 12th.<sup>43</sup> Price at once sent out orders for all Missouri troops in the area and north of the river to join him.<sup>44</sup>

Among the troops to join Price before Lexington were 2,730 from Northeast Missouri under the command of Brigadier General Thomas A. Harris of Marion County. Harris had been headed toward Boonville as a private in June in response to the Governor's call for volunteers when he was met at Paris, Missouri, by a messenger with his commission as one of the eight brigadier generals just appointed by Governor Jackson. The commission was accompanied by orders from General Price to return to Northeast Missouri and to recruit and organize State forces to defend that area. He had held public meetings in the northeastern counties despite the presence of Federal troops, had mustered into State service almost 3,000 officers and men, and had fought several small engagements while awaiting a chance to join Price.<sup>45</sup>

Governor Jackson arrived in Springfield on September 7, too late to meet Price there. He caught up with the General and his army by the time they reached Warrensburg, where he is reported to have addressed an enthusiastic crowd.<sup>46</sup> Jackson hoped that the occupation of Lexington would be permanent and apparently intended to set up his capital there. He is reported to have met with a few members of the legislature in the local Masonic College.<sup>47</sup>

<sup>43</sup>Pollard, *Southern History of the War*, I, 143-44; report, S. Price to C. F. Jackson, Lexington, Missouri, September 21, 1861, *O. R. R.*, I, III, 188.

<sup>44</sup>Letter, T. L. Snead to T. A. Harris, September 13, 1861, *O. R. R.*, I, III, 701.

<sup>45</sup>Pollard, *Southern History of the War*, I, 141-42.

<sup>46</sup>*Missouri Statesman*, September 13, 20, 1861.

<sup>47</sup>McElroy, *Struggle for Missouri*, 175-76; *Charleston Mercury*, September 18, October 3, October 4, 1861. McElroy reported that Jackson had arrived at Lexington a week before Price and had held a legislative session at that time. At the approach of Federal troops to the Masonic College, he said, there was a precipitate adjournment of the legislative session, with the Great Seal of the State being buried in the cellar. The *Charleston Mercury*, quoting the *Chicago Tribune* of September 25, in interviews with paroled Federal prisoners from Lexington reported that the legislature met in the college on September 21 and that that body passed an ordinance of secession. Colonel Mulligan surrendered on September 21. Other evidence indicates that Jackson can hardly have reached Lexington as early as McElroy reported, and no other indication has been found of the passage of an ordinance of secession. General Price's report of the battle did mention the recovery of the Seal and of public papers which had been stolen from their proper custodian. It is evident, therefore, that some sort of meeting was held and that the Seal and some public records were temporarily lost.

The college building was temporarily taken by Federal troops during the Battle of Lexington, September 18 to 21, and the necessity of retreat later in the month ended any hope even of a semi-permanent capital on the Missouri River.

Governor Jackson was present in Lexington during most of the siege that lasted from September 12 to 18 and during the battle that

followed. He was also present at the surrender of the Federal commander, Colonel James A. Mulligan, on September 21. On September 26 he issued a proclamation calling the General Assembly to meet in special session in Neosho on October 21.<sup>48</sup> The same day he issued a commission appointing E. C. Cabell and Thomas L. Snead commissioners to negotiate an offensive-defensive treaty of alliance with the Confederacy and ratified in advance any action they might take in accordance with their instructions.<sup>49</sup> They left for Richmond that day.



Courtesy Chicago Historical Society

Colonel James A. Mulligan

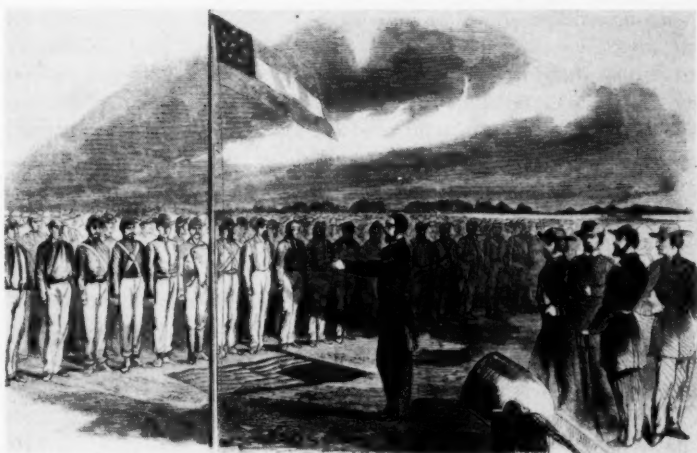
Price and Jackson remained in Lexington until September 30, when they abandoned their position and retreated slowly toward the southwest corner of the State, taking the Governor's family with them.<sup>50</sup> They also took with them the printing press and equipment of the Platte City *Argus*, which became the news organ of the State Government and its army under the name *Missouri Army Argus*. J. W. Tucker, former editor of the *Missouri State Journal*, was its editor from the time its first issue was published at Neosho on October 28, 1861, until its demise at Camp Churchill, near Corinth, Mississippi, the following year.<sup>51</sup>

<sup>48</sup>*Journal of the Senate, Extra Session of the Rebel Legislature . . .* (Jefferson City, 1865-1866), 3-4.

<sup>49</sup>Commission, Executive Department, State of Missouri, Lexington, Missouri, September 26, 1861, *O. R. R.*, I, LIII, 751.

<sup>50</sup>Letter, B. McCulloch to G. W. Randolph, Camp Jackson, Arkansas, October 14, 1861, *O. R. R.*, I, III, 718-19.

<sup>51</sup>William F. Swindler, "The Southern Press in Missouri, 1861-1864," *Missouri Historical Review*, XXXV (April 1941), 399; James M. Lee, *History of American Journalism* (Boston, 1917), 301. This paper is also mentioned in the *Statesman* for June 27, 1862, as being then published at Camp Churchill near Corinth, Mississippi.



*Harper's Weekly, October 19, 1861*

**Governor Jackson Addressing Colonel Mulligan's Troops After the  
Surrender at Lexington**

Although the rapid concentration of Federal troops in the vicinity made the evacuation of Lexington imperative, Price's campaign can be considered a worthwhile venture. The General's official report listed the capture of over 3,500 prisoners who were paroled, five pieces of artillery, over 3,000 stand of infantry arms, 750 horses, and military equipment of all types.<sup>52</sup> Despite leaving several thousand volunteers behind because of a lack of arms, the army returned to South Missouri almost 50 per cent larger than it had been on the trip north.<sup>53</sup> Perhaps most important of all, the Lexington campaign had raised the flagging hopes and spirits of secessionists throughout the State and had raised Missouri to a position of paramount importance in the eyes of the Southern Congress and press.<sup>54</sup>

In the meantime, the Confederate Congress had approved an act authorizing the President to cooperate with the State of Missouri by use of Confederate troops and authorizing him to enlist

<sup>52</sup>Report, S. Price to C. F. Jackson, Lexington, Missouri, September 21, 1861, *O. R. R.*, I, III, 188.

<sup>53</sup>Pollard, *Southern History of the War*, I, 151-52.

<sup>54</sup>Resolution, December 3, 1861, *O. R. R.*, I, LIII, 758-59; *Richmond Whig*, October 4, 1861; *Richmond Enquirer*, September 24, October 10, 1861.



Missouri volunteers into Confederate service. It also provided for the admission of Missouri into the Confederacy on an equal footing with the other members as soon as the provisional constitution was ratified by the "legally constituted authorities of the state," and as soon as the Governor should send the President a properly certified report of such action. This act specifically recognized Claiborne F. Jackson's regime as the "legally elected and regularly constituted Government of the State of Missouri" and authorized Davis to enter into an alliance with Missouri.<sup>55</sup> A few days later Congress authorized the establishment of Confederate recruiting stations to receive volunteers from Missouri, Kentucky, Maryland, and Delaware.<sup>56</sup>

Lieutenant Governor Reynolds was in Southeast Missouri throughout the month of August, and on the 28th he published a letter "to the friends of the Southern Cause in Memphis," asking for clothing, shoes, blankets, and other supplies for Thompson's troops in Southeast Missouri, to enable them to remain in the field.<sup>57</sup> He returned to Columbus, Kentucky, in September and was asked by General Albert Sidney Johnston to become one of his aides for the General's projected command in Missouri. Cabell had recommended him for a commission as brigadier general in the Confederate army just before he left Richmond for Missouri early in September.<sup>58</sup> Reynolds agreed to serve Johnston and on September 26 received his appointment but only with the rank of colonel.<sup>59</sup> Johnston felt that Reynolds' presence would aid greatly in recruiting Missourians for the army and in pacifying the citizens of the State. When Johnston was ordered to Bowling Green, Kentucky, instead of Missouri, Reynolds was relieved from Johnston's staff.<sup>60</sup>

Shortly thereafter Reynolds returned to Richmond, where he conferred with Majors Cabell and Snead who had returned to the city to negotiate the treaty of alliance.<sup>61</sup> He retired to South

<sup>55</sup>Act of August 20, 1861, *O. R. R.*, IV, I, 576-77. The State of Virginia had entered into a treaty of alliance with the Confederacy prior to its admission into that union. This act anticipated a similar alliance with Missouri to provide for the period until Missouri became officially a part of the Confederacy.

<sup>56</sup>Act of August 30, 1861, *O. R. R.*, IV, I, 585.

<sup>57</sup>*Liberty Tribune*, September 20, 1861.

<sup>58</sup>Letter, E. C. Cabell to J. Davis, September 2, 1861, *O. R. R.*, I, LIII, 733-34.

<sup>59</sup>Order No. 2, Hq. Western Department, Columbus, Kentucky, September 26, 1861, *O. R. R.*, I, LII, II, 154.

<sup>60</sup>Letter, T. C. Reynolds to W. T. Sherman, St. Louis, November 7, 1877, Reynolds Papers, St. Louis. It must have been during this period, while Cabell was enroute to Lexington, that he met Reynolds in Columbus and told of his efforts in Jackson's behalf.

<sup>61</sup>*Charleston Mercury*, October 28, 1861; Reynolds, "General Price and the Confederacy," 49.

Carolina in December, 1861, and remained there until the death of Governor Jackson, a year later, made him Governor.<sup>62</sup> He kept in touch with affairs in Missouri during his year in South Carolina, writing frequent letters to his friends in the army and the Confederate government.<sup>63</sup>

Snead and Cabell returned to Richmond by way of General McCulloch's camp in Arkansas. They asked the General for his further cooperation with Price and for additional military supplies for the Missouri troops. McCulloch informed them that he had strongly disapproved of Price's campaign against Lexington and that he did not intend to risk his own forces in a winter campaign so far from his base of supplies.<sup>64</sup> Despairing of moving the General from his position, the two commissioners hurried on to Richmond, arriving on or just before October 18.<sup>65</sup>

Within a few days Cabell and Snead began negotiations with R. M. T. Hunter, the Confederate Secretary of State. On the last day of the month they signed a treaty in the names of the two governments. Missouri was to be admitted as an equal Confederate state in accordance with the act of Congress dated August 20, 1861. Until Missouri's admission, which would be delayed until after her General Assembly acted to secede from the Federal union and to ratify the Confederate Constitution, her military forces and munitions of war were to be under the direction of the President on the same basis as those of the Confederate States. When Missouri joined the Confederacy, she was to turn over to the Confederate government all public property, naval stores, and munitions of war which she had acquired from the United States, except her public lands. In return, all war expenditures of the State were to be paid by the Confederacy after October 31, 1861. This offensive and defensive alliance was to continue for the duration of the war or until Missouri joined the Confederacy.<sup>66</sup>

The General Assembly convened in accordance with Governor Jackson's proclamation on October 21, 1861, in Neosho under the

<sup>62</sup>Reynolds, "General Price and the Confederacy," 55.

<sup>63</sup>One such letter was written to the Secretary of War in May, 1862, concerning the exchange of his former secretary, who was then a prisoner of war. *O. R. R.*, II, III, 864.

<sup>64</sup>Snead, "First Year of the War," 274.

<sup>65</sup>Letter, E. C. Cabell to S. Price, Richmond, October 18, 1861, *O. R. R.*, I, LIII, 749-50.

<sup>66</sup>Convention between the Confederate States of America and the State of Missouri, October 31, 1861, *O. R. R.*, I, LIII, 753-54. This convention was ratified by the Congress on Tuesday, November 26, just two days before Missouri's admission to the Confederacy. (*Richmond Whig*, November 29, 1861.) With ratification coming so late the work of negotiation hardly seems to have been justified.

protection of General Price's army.<sup>67</sup> The first week was spent in organizing and in attempting to secure a quorum, but on October 28 the Assembly declared itself ready for business.<sup>68</sup> It received an address from the Governor in which he made the following recommendations:<sup>69</sup>

1. Passage of a provisional ordinance of secession.
2. Passage of an act of provisional union with the Confederacy, subject to later approval by the citizens of the State.
3. Appointment of three commissioners to the provisional Confederate Congress.
4. Passage of an act authorizing the Governor to call an election for senators and representatives to the Confederate State's Congress, to be held as soon as possible after the admission of the State into the Confederacy. The act should include provision for voting by citizens in the army.
5. Passage of an act empowering the Governor to issue state bonds in such sums and denominations as the public welfare might require.

Before the day was over the legislature had passed an ordinance of secession with but one dissenting vote and an act ratifying the provisional constitution of the Confederate State of America.<sup>70</sup> These acts were signed by Governor Jackson on November 3.<sup>71</sup>

On the 29th the members adjourned to meet on October 31 at the courthouse in Cassville, Missouri.<sup>72</sup> This was done because of General Price's desire to join General McCulloch's army at Cassville. Here most of the business of the session was transacted, including an act to confirm the eight brigadier generals appointed by the Governor, an act reorganizing the Missouri State Guard and creating ten military districts, and an act providing for the discharge of members of the Missouri State Guard for the purpose of enlisting in the Confederate States Army.<sup>73</sup>

In accordance with Governor Jackson's request, a bill was passed appropriating \$10,000,000 "now in the treasury or which may hereafter be paid into the treasury" to repel invasion and maintain

<sup>67</sup>*Journal, Rebel Senate*, 2.

<sup>68</sup>*Ibid.*, 6.

<sup>69</sup>*Ibid.*, 7-8.

<sup>70</sup>*Ibid.*, 39, 42-43.

<sup>71</sup>*Ibid.*, 8, 10; letter, C. F. Jackson to J. Davis, Cassville, Missouri, November 5, 1861, O. R. R., I, LIII, 754-55.

<sup>72</sup>*Journal, Rebel Senate*, 12-13.

<sup>73</sup>*Ibid.*, 19, 37-38, 40.

the sovereignty of the State. It authorized the Governor to issue \$10,000,000 in defense bonds.<sup>74</sup>

Probably the most interesting and unusual act adopted was entitled "An Act to Provide for Holding An Election for Representatives to the Congress of the Confederate States of America and for Other Purposes."<sup>75</sup>

Jackson had requested the selection of three commissioners to serve in the unicameral provisional Congress, and authorization to hold an election for members of the House of Representatives to serve when the permanent Confederate government was inaugurated. This act provided for an election to be held as quickly as possible. It also named two senators and seven representatives who would serve until after the election. These nine congressmen were to serve as commissioners in the provisional Congress during the remainder of its life.<sup>76</sup>

This measure was described by the Governor as the "most extraordinary bill in the history of legislation" in that it had undertaken to elect not only senators, but representatives as well, and required the signature of the Governor. He pointed out that the election of senators was the function of the legislature alone, and that neither the Governor nor the General Assembly had any constitutional power to elect representatives. Such action, he said, would have no effect "except to place the state in a false and ludicrous position before the world." He signed the bill only because of its other provisions authorizing an election to be held as soon as practicable, but declared that had there been time for a reconsideration of the bill he would have vetoed it.<sup>77</sup>

The Assembly adjourned on November 7 after adopting a resolution to meet again at New Madrid on the first Monday in March, 1862.<sup>78</sup>

<sup>74</sup>*Ibid.*, 34-35.

<sup>75</sup>*Ibid.*, 40-41.

<sup>76</sup>Senators: John B. Clark and R. L. Y. Peyton. Representatives: William M. Cooke, first district; Thomas A. Harris, second district; Casper W. Bell, third district; Aaron H. Conrow, fourth district; George G. Vest, fifth district; Thomas W. Freeman, sixth district; and John Hyer, seventh district. (Marshall *Texas Republican*, December 7, 1861.) The provisional Confederate Congress, the Confederacy's legislature until February 17, 1862 was a unicameral body. Each state had one vote, but the Provisional Constitution did not specify the number of commissioners allowed each state. The regular Congress, which convened on the above date under terms of the permanent Constitution, was bicameral, with a senate representing each state equally and a house of representatives based on population.

<sup>77</sup>Message, Governor Claiborne F. Jackson to Speaker of the House, November 8, 1861, Cassville, Missouri, *Journal, Rebel Senate*, 31-32.

<sup>78</sup>*Ibid.*, 28.

By the time the date for the March meeting approached it was evident that New Madrid would be under Federal attack if not actually in Federal possession. General M. Jeff Thompson counter-attacked near the city on February 27 but was unsuccessful in alleviating the enemy pressure.

On the day of the meeting only a few legislators appeared. These included several of the congressional delegation from Richmond who were still members of the General Assembly.<sup>79</sup> Other members who were scheduled to come by steamer from Memphis did not arrive, nor did Governor Jackson who was to accompany them. General Thompson had those present formally convene and adjourn the session to meet at Gayoso or Caruthersville in Pemiscot County.<sup>80</sup>

Thompson wrote Jackson that Federal troops were close enough to New Madrid to make the scheduled session of the legislature hazardous for the members. He enclosed an "act," with 60 signatures appended, declaring the General Assembly adjourned to meet at Caruthersville, on March 6, 1862. The "act" was signed not only by members of that body but by "officers, privates, and citizens of the First Military District." He hoped, said the General, that this would meet with the Governor's convenience.<sup>81</sup>



Courtesy J. G. Westover

General M. Jeff Thompson

<sup>79</sup>Senator Peyton and Representatives Harris, Vest, Conrow, and Freeman. (Letter, T. C. Reynolds to F. Hagan, Marshall, Texas, January 9, 1864, Letter Book 4464, Reynolds Manuscript Collection, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C., 28-36. This collection consists of nine numbered documents or letter books.)

<sup>80</sup>"This is the Story of the War Experiences of Brig. Gen. M. Jeff Thompson written by Himself and edited by his Youngest Daughter, Marcie A. Baily," (unpublished diary, State Historical Society of Missouri Library, Columbia, Missouri), 62-65; hereafter cited as "Thompson Diary."

<sup>81</sup>Letter, M. J. Thompson to C. F. Jackson, New Madrid, Missouri, March 3, 1862, *O. R. R.*, I, VIII, 765. The "act" itself has not been found, and General Thompson did not mention any of the names appended, nor did he say how many bonafide members attended, either in his letter to Governor Jackson or in his diary.

This letter was sent down the river by a committee of legislators who were to stop the Governor and his party from coming on to New Madrid. Governor Jackson, however, had already decided that a legislative session would serve no useful purpose that spring. By this time he was with General Price in northwestern Arkansas at the Battle of Elkhorn Tavern (Pea Ridge).<sup>82</sup>

The meeting at New Madrid on March 3 can scarcely be considered as a session of the legislature. General Thompson described the proceedings as "unique" and his own orders to the body as "decidedly Cromwellian."<sup>83</sup> No further session of the Twenty-First General Assembly was ever held, and New Madrid fell to the Federals on March 14.

Whether the Neosho-Cassville session of the legislature had a quorum present, and was therefore legally able to act for the State, has long been a matter of controversy, with the weight of opinion resting with the negative. No journal of the House of Representatives was ever found, and the Senate Journal, published after the war, contains no roll calls or statements as to the presence of a quorum. This fact in itself is indicative of a failure to meet the constitutional requirements for transacting business but is not proof of this. On October 23 the Senate did adopt a resolution requesting the President of the Senate to appoint suitable messengers to notify and bring the absent senators to the meeting.<sup>84</sup> Certainly no quorum was present at that time. In fact, it was a week after the first meeting on October 21 before the General Assembly was ready for business. The members were evidently waiting during this period for their absent colleagues to arrive.

Contemporary reports concerning this session differ with friendly sources, of course, reporting a quorum. The *Paris Mercury* published letters written from Neosho on October 26, reporting that at the first meeting two members were present.<sup>85</sup> According to the *Memphis Appeal* the session was well attended with a full quorum on hand in each house: 27 senators and 77 representatives.<sup>86</sup> Nineteen senators and 68 representatives were required to constitute a legal quorum.

<sup>82</sup>Like most other Civil War battles, this engagement fought on March 7, 1862, was known by different names in the North and South. The Confederates called it Elkhorn Tavern. In the North it was called Pea Ridge.

<sup>83</sup>"Thompson Dairy," 65.

<sup>84</sup>*Journal, Rebel Senate*, 5.

<sup>85</sup>*Paris Mercury* (no date given) quoted in *Missouri Statesman*, November 15, 1861.

<sup>86</sup>*Memphis Appeal* (no date given) quoted in *Missouri Statesman*, December 6, 1861.

*Appleton's Annual Encyclopaedia* for 1861 says that a quorum was obtained by the appointment of proxies.<sup>87</sup> The *Confederate Military History* states that it was a regularly constituted body with a quorum present in each house.<sup>88</sup> In January, 1862, Isaac N. Shanbaugh, a member of DeKalb County, published a circular to his constituents declaring that only 39 members of the house and

ten senators attended the meeting in Neosho, and that 44 and eleven respectively were at Cassville. He called it "an unauthorized and irresponsible body, and its actions null and void."<sup>89</sup>



Courtesy John P. Ray

#### Confederate Capitol at Cassville

The Senate Journal reveals the names of 16 senators as appointed to committees, proposing bills, or otherwise noted, but mentions only four representatives by name. The truth, perhaps, will never be known

unless some other source of information comes to light. The important fact is that the session and its acts were considered legal by the Confederate government and that Missouri was admitted to the Confederacy on the strength of its legality. To supporters of Hamilton R. Gamble's government in Jefferson City the question was unimportant, since the State Convention had already outlawed the entire membership.

On November 5, Governor Jackson sent certified copies of Missouri's ordinance of secession and the act ratifying the Confederate Constitution to President Davis. He said that the ordinance of secession would have been submitted to the people for their approval had that been possible. Nonetheless, he was confident that it would have been approved by at least four-fifths of the voters.<sup>90</sup>

<sup>87</sup>*The American Annual Encyclopaedia and Register of Important Events of the Year 1861* (New York, 1866), I, 497.

<sup>88</sup>*Confederate Military History, A Library of Confederate States History, in Twelve Volumes, Written by Distinguished Men of the South and Edited by General Clement A. Evans of Georgia* (Atlanta, 1899), IX, 69.

<sup>89</sup>Howard L. Conard, editor, *Encyclopedia of the History of Missouri. A Compendium of History and Biography for Ready Reference* (St. Louis, 1901), V, 551.

<sup>90</sup>Letter, C. F. Jackson to J. Davis, Cassville, Missouri, November 5, 1861, O. R. R., I, LIII, 754-55.



Upon receipt of this letter and the enclosed documents, President Davis laid them before the Congress, along with the recently signed treaty. The act of August 20 had authorized the President to declare Missouri a member of the Confederacy as soon as the requirements of the law had been met by the State. Davis told the Congress that he thought it proper to submit the matter to them since they were in session at the time;<sup>91</sup> but it may well indicate some doubt on the part of the legalistic Davis, and therefore a desire to leave the final act to Congress rather than assuming it himself. On November 28 Congress approved an act admitting Missouri into the Confederacy as a full and equal member.<sup>92</sup> President Davis by proclamation the same day declared Missouri the twelfth Confederate state.<sup>93</sup>

The admission of the "Giant of the West"<sup>94</sup> was the signal for a wave of rejoicing and optimism, not only among Missourians concerned but in other parts of the South. The series of victories at Carthage, Oak Hill, Fort Scott, and Lexington, plus the action of the State legislature produced a feeling of great hope. This was scarcely dimmed by the fact that some 70,000 Federal troops in Missouri supported a provisional government now firmly entrenched at Jefferson City.

A number of Southern newspapers were lavish in praise of General Price and of Missouri's secession but critical of the lateness of her action. Typical of this printed sentiment was a Richmond editorial following the battle at Lexington. While rejoicing in the victory, it blamed Missouri's "public men" who had been irresolute and timorous, allowing Lincoln to "pour in his regiments and grasp her strong points."<sup>95</sup> The *Charleston Mercury* said in December "the great state of Missouri is now in the Confederacy. She and the other frontier states are paying the bitter penalty of indecision and trusting Yankee faith."<sup>96</sup> These statements pretty well summarize the more thoughtful and objective Southern opinion as the Confederacy welcomed Missouri into the fold, and agree quite closely with sentiments expressed earlier by Lieutenant Governor Reynolds. Perhaps Governor Jackson had not been "irresolute and timorous,"

<sup>91</sup>Message, President Davis to Confederate Congress, November 25, 1861, O. R. R., I, LIII, 757-58.

<sup>92</sup>Act of November 28, 1861, O. R. R., I, LIII, 758.

<sup>93</sup>*Charleston Mercury*, December 2, 1861.

<sup>94</sup>*Daily Richmond Enquirer*, September 24, 1861.

<sup>95</sup>*Ibid.*, September 24, 1861.

<sup>96</sup>*Charleston Mercury*, December 3, 1861.

but certainly he had been slow to act. As a result, President Davis doubted his intentions and motives, and before Confederate troops could prevent it, Federal forces did pour into the State and "grasp her strong points." Earlier decisive action on Jackson's part probably would not have changed the final outcome, but it would have brought Confederate troops to his aid before Lyon could have so thoroughly carried out his occupation plans. It would certainly have eased his relations with the Confederate President and government. Missouri's star would have been added to the "constellation of the Confederate States" several months earlier.

## HISTORICAL NOTES AND COMMENTS

### MEMBERS ACTIVE IN INCREASING THE SOCIETY'S MEMBERSHIP

During the three months of February, March, and April, 1961, the following members of the Society have increased its membership as indicated:

#### ONE LIFE MEMBER

Fiorita, Charles R., Moberly

#### FORTY-FOUR NEW MEMBERS

Elliott, R. Kenneth, Liberty

#### NINETEEN NEW MEMBERS

Gilbreath, Mrs. Olga, Parkville

#### SEVEN NEW MEMBERS

Robinson, Frank L., Los Angeles, California

Siegismund, W. H., Rockville

#### FOUR NEW MEMBERS

Bradley, Mrs. Leonard, Huntsville

Bushman, Mrs. William, Liberty

Hash, M. J., Kansas City

Hunt, Mrs. Sylvia L., Appleton City

McFarland, Mrs. J. H., West Plains

Nichols, Thomas S., Arnold

#### THREE NEW MEMBERS

Hoff, C. W., Stockton

Lehr, Ralph E., Kirksville

Neal, Kenneth, Kansas City

Salmon, John W., Kansas City

#### TWO NEW MEMBERS

Baker, Betty L., Mexico

Bradford, Mrs. William L., Rochester,  
New York

Brennan, Robert H., Duluth, Minn.

Brenner, Emery, North Kansas City

Brownlee, Rollins H., Brookfield

Crole, Mr. and Mrs. Claude A., La  
Monte

Dallmeyer, R. E., Jr., Jefferson City

David, Belle Elizabeth, Bruno, Ark.

Donaldson, L. W., Kansas City

Flack, Vesta E., Kansas City

Garrard, Mrs. J. W., Independence

Hill, Perry, Flat River

Hill, Robert R., Cape Girardeau

Holliway, Robert E., Sr., Jefferson City

Johnson, Robert L., Independence

Julian, B. F., Marshfield

Laun, George O., St. James

Mayfield, Robert J., Jefferson City

Mertsheimer, Fred B., Kansas City

Mills, Mrs. Charles Bennett, Kansas  
City

Mooney, Prentiss, Kansas City

Richards, Harry, Kirkwood

Schnitzmeyer, Herman J., St. Louis

Stiffler, R. Ewing, Denver, Colo.

Thomason, Mrs. W. O., Van Buren

Thompson, Mrs. G. S., Salisbury

Wood, Mrs. Benson, Jefferson City

## ONE NEW MEMBER

- Aber, Mrs. Lawrence M., Jefferson City  
 Albin, Mrs. Frances, Butler  
 Alexander, Mary, Huntsville  
 Armstrong, Mrs. Joseph, McKittrick  
 Ashburn, Janet D., Bonne Terre  
 Ashley, Mrs. Adah, Lebanon  
 Ault, Frederick C., St. Louis  
 Aylor, R. B., Jefferson City  
 Baepler, F. A., Concordia  
 Barnett, Lawrence, Sedalia  
 Becker, Julius A., Joplin  
 Beckmann, Fred W., Chamois  
 Beinke, Mrs. Amos, Harrisburg  
 Benton, Mrs. Isom, Jefferson City  
 Blackburn, Mrs. C. O., Malta Bend  
 Blume, A. W., Springfield  
 Brady, Edwin F., Warsaw  
 Bray, Lauren C., Laveta, Colo.  
 Bray, Robert T., Miami  
 Bricken, R. W., Waverly  
 Bromsen, Maury A., Boston, Mass.  
 Brown, Mrs. Charles J., Jr., Liberty  
 Brown, Clarah Frances, Marshall  
 Burk, Mrs. Joe H., Bethany  
 Canaday, Dayton W., St. Charles  
 Carlock, Mrs. E. E., St. Louis  
 Chisholm, Donald H., Kansas City  
 Clay, Thomas E., Jamestown  
 Crowe, E. J., Kirkwood  
 Croy, Homer, New York, New York  
 D'Arcy, Mrs. George B., St. Louis  
 Davis, Floyd A., Kirkwood  
 Dietrich, Roy K., Kansas City  
 Dinklage, W. A., Kansas City  
 Dixon, Hosea J., Noel  
 Dunlap, Mrs. Virginia M., Rivermines  
 Dunn, Theophilus, Independence  
 Early, H. B., Liberty  
 Elzea, C. F., Columbia  
 Fenton, John S., Kansas City  
 Freeman, Mrs. R. W., Carrollton  
 Friedrich, Mrs. Edith, Levasy  
 Fuqua, Mrs. Margaret D., Columbia  
 Gain, Edward J. A., St. Louis  
 Gardner, Mrs. E. C., Edina  
 Geer, Mrs. Lillie J., Carl Junction  
 Gentry, Sue, Independence  
 Gibson, Mrs. Donald H., Independence  
 Gilmore, Mrs. Boyd, Springfield  
 Gold, Henry Clay, Lee's Summit  
 Goodman, L. O., Pierce City  
 Goodson, John V., Macon  
 Gray, Cowan A., Kansas City  
 Hamilton, W. J., Cape Girardeau  
 Heidbrink, Louis, Jr., Odessa  
 Hertenstein, B. H., Memphis  
 Holekamp, Louis R., Kirkwood  
 Hooper, Thomas R., Maryville  
 Hoover, H. Lee, Springfield  
 Hopper, Lawrence L., Independence  
 Howdeshell, C. Leo, Elsberry  
 Hughes, Ford W., St. James  
 Hyman, Lawrence C., Columbia  
 Ihrig, B. B., Smithton  
 English, Mrs. Sumter R., Arlington,  
     Virginia  
 Jones, Alvin R., Greenfield  
 Jones, Mrs. Douglas H., Webster  
     Groves  
 Jones, H. Clay, Sedalia  
 Karsch, Albert, Farmington  
 Kelso, H. A., Nevada  
 Kenaston, Arthur France, Springfield  
 Killion, Mrs. L. O., Parnell  
 Kirkpatrick, Arthur R., Raleigh, North  
     Carolina  
 Lavender, Fred M., St. Louis  
 McAmis, Mrs. Guy, Marshall  
 McClain, Leland R., Crystal City  
 McClintock, Mrs. Okla H., Camdenton  
 McDermott, Mrs. J. D., Excelsior  
     Springs  
 McDowell, Don, Columbia  
 McKinnon, Mrs. William, Ballwin  
 McVey, Mrs. Don B., Fulton  
 Mackesson, Mrs. V. F., Lebanon  
 Mann, Clair V., Rolla  
 Mead, S. T., Slater  
 Moon, Mrs. R. M., Fayette  
 Moore, Roscoe D., Perryville  
 Niewald, Leonard W., Washington  
 Nutter, E. Eugene, Cape Girardeau  
 Parker, Mrs. Lucille, Maplewood  
 Patton, W. W., Jefferson City

Phillips, S. A., Salem  
 Plowman, William L., Columbia  
 Randel, L. G., Columbia  
 Richards, Mrs. William E., Kansas City  
 Richardson, James R., Warsaw  
 Roadcap, Mrs. E. L., Independence  
 Robinett, Paul M., Washington, D. C.  
 Rode, Mrs. R. B., St. Louis  
 Roseberry, Ethel M., Kirksville  
 Sailor, Nelle M., New York, N. Y.  
 Schowengerdt, Erwin E., St. Louis  
 Scott, Frank H., Sarasota, Florida  
 Seabough, Jerry F., Kansas City, Kansas  
 Seay, George R., Largo, Florida  
 Shipman, John, Kirkwood  
 Smiser, Mrs. A. Lee, Warrensburg  
 Smith, Ray E., North Kansas City  
 Somerville, George W., Chillicothe  
 Sone, Guy M., Jefferson City  
 Sparks, R. B., West Plains  
 Stecher, Karl, Chevy Chase, Md.  
 Steuart, Mrs. Effie B., Tucson, Arizona

Stockman, Fred E., Malta Bend  
 Suttle, Harry L., Springfield  
 Templeton, C. A., Tarkio  
 Thilenius, Mrs. Arthur, Cape Girardeau  
 Thomas, Ralph S., Independence  
 Thompson, W. T., Union Star  
 Todd, Mrs. L. G., St. Louis  
 Uhlmann, R. Hugh, Kansas City  
 Ulbright, Norman J., St. Louis  
 Voertman, Russell, Kansas City  
 Wall, Mrs. Clemmie, Jefferson City  
 Walsh, Mrs. Jerome, Sr., Kansas City  
 Waninger, Lois H., St. Louis  
 Warford, William S., Quincy, Ill.  
 Warner, John B., Sr., Richmond Heights  
 Webster, B., Stoutland  
 Weiss, P. K., Moberly  
 Welty, Mrs. Ruth, Versailles  
 West, Leslie L., Elvins  
 Williams, John D., Fayette  
 Wilson, Scott, Washington, D. C.

#### NEW MEMBERS IN THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Four hundred applications for membership were received by the Society during the three months of February, March, and April, 1961. The total annual and life memberships as of May 1, 1961, was 12,578.

Adams, Floyd E., Liberty  
 Akins, H. Marie, Kansas City  
 Allen, Norris H., St. Louis LIFE  
 Anderson, Mrs. Blossom C., Westminster, Colorado  
 Antoine, Mrs. William L., Independence  
 Armstrong, Mrs. Elizabeth, Kansas City, Kansas  
 Arnold, Mrs. Ann, Bakersfield, California LIFE  
 Arsenaur, John, Parkville  
 Ash, C. Harold, Jr., North Kansas City  
 Ashburn, Margaret A., St. Louis  
 Ashley, Mrs. Adah, Lebanon  
 Austin, William M., North Kansas City  
 Avery, Kenneth T., Mexico

Avey, Mrs. Charles W., Jr., Kirkwood  
 Avey, Charles W., Jr., Kirkwood  
 Babb, Elouise M., Riverside, Calif.  
 Bagby, Mrs. R. D., Moberly  
 Bardon, Richard, Duluth, Minn.  
 Bay, George W., Salem  
 Beebe, Ammon, Independence  
 Bell, H. E., Webster Grove  
 Bell, Marion A., Los Angeles, Calif.  
 Bennett, Arthur L., Florissant  
 Berry, Edward H., Sikeston LIFE  
 Bild, Frank, St. Louis LIFE  
 Bittiker, Mrs. Myrtle, Eolia  
 Bittner, Donald Francis, Kirkwood  
 Blakesley, Mrs. Ed, Concord, Calif.  
 Bledsoe, Robert E., North Kansas City  
 Boehmer, George E., Wright City

- Boitwell, Mrs. Marie, Los Angeles, California
- Bonne Terre Public Schools, Bonne Terre
- Boone, Mrs. May C., Kansas City
- Bounds, Carl M., Paris
- Bowman, Edward F., Kansas City
- Branding, Dorothy, St. Louis LIFE
- Brazeale, May, Pacific
- Brennan, R. J., Chillicothe
- Brenner, David, Parkville
- Brenner, Lowell, Parkville
- Breshears, John, La Monte
- Britain, Barbara, Kansas City
- Britt, Mrs. D. L., North Kansas City
- Bromsen, Maury A., Boston, Mass.
- Broome, Milton S., Kansas City
- Brown, Gary L., Kansas City
- Brown, Norvil Leary, Kansas City
- Bullard, Henry N., Kansas City
- Bumgarner, Mrs. Elizabeth, Warrensburg
- Burke, Anna Brooks, Rock Port
- Burke, Richard W., Clayton
- Burkholder, Edwin V., New York, New York
- Burnham, C. H. M., Merriam, Kansas
- Busby, Mrs. E. M., Maryville
- Cadwallader, Dorothy, Parkville
- Candy, Arthur B., St. Louis
- Carney, Lynn D., North Kansas City
- Carpenter, Mrs. E., St. Louis
- Carpenter, Mrs. Julia, Osceola
- Carter, Claude M., Salisbury
- Cascaden, Charles L., Lewistown, Montana
- Chapman, Carl H., Columbia LIFE
- Chapman, Wilton D., St. Louis
- Chisum, Robert, Kansas City
- Clark, C. Howard, Liberty
- Clark, Elizabeth, Topeka, Kansas
- Cole, Mrs. Elsie E., Hawthorne, California
- Colwell, Raymond G., Colorado Springs, Colorado
- Conrad, Mrs. C. W., Grandview
- Conrad, Mrs. Edwin C., Bonne Terre
- Cornelius, Mrs. J. L., Edina
- Cornett, Bracy, Linneus
- Courtway, C. C., Potosi
- Cowen, Mrs. Roy C., Kansas City
- Craghead, Mrs. W. C., Fulton
- Crane, Mr. and Mrs. Elrow, St. Petersburg, Florida
- Crane, Forrest F., Columbia
- Crawford, Mr. and Mrs. W. C., West Plains
- Creed, Roscoe R., Columbia
- Crist, Cheryl, Parkville
- Crockett, E. D., Kearney
- Crowell, Newton H., Hillsboro, Ore.
- Cummins, Paul H., North Kansas City
- Curry, Robert, Kansas City
- Cushman, Mrs. Dwight L., Kansas City
- Dashier, Mrs. Forrest B., Amarillo, Texas
- Davis, Lee, Kansas City, Kansas
- Davis, Lloyd H., Ellisville
- Declercq, William O., Kansas City
- Dickman, Edwin, Independence
- Dietrich, William G., Kansas City
- Dowis, Mr. and Mrs. P. H., Sheridan
- Drouet, Frank S., Chaffee
- Dudley, Robert, Columbia
- Duerr, Donald J., St. Charles
- Durlacher, Doreen, Kansas City
- Dwyer, James J., St. Louis
- Ellis, Mrs. Donald, Yakima, Wash.
- Elsberry High School Library, Elsberry
- Emerson, H. L., North Kansas City
- Emery, Mrs. John A., Sullivan
- Esrich, A. G., Cook Station
- Fagerlund, Mrs. Chester A., Salisbury
- Fairbank, R. J., Kansas City
- Fallert, Thomas, Ste. Genevieve
- Farr, Mrs. Frank, Salisbury
- Faust, Doris, Kansas City
- Fenwick, Mrs. Edna, Kansas City
- Field, Frank D., St. Louis LIFE
- Fike, James L., Parkville
- Filger, Dennis, North Kansas City
- Fiorita, Charles R., Moberly LIFE
- Fiorita, Mrs. Charles R., Moberly LIFE
- Flack, James R., Raytown
- Flack, Thomas V., St. Charles
- Ford, Thad, Linn Creek

- Forrest, Mrs. Maud C., Salisbury  
 Forsythe, Mrs. L. G., Marshall  
 Foster, Robert, North Kansas City  
 Fridley, Norris, Gerald  
 Fuhrman, Mrs. J. D., San Diego, California  
 Fulkerson, Mrs. Jewett, Liberty  
 Gain, Mrs. Maude C., St. Louis  
 Garner, James W., Kansas City  
 George, Ralph D., Raytown  
 Gerard, Jules B., Columbia  
 Giebler, Mrs. J. E., University City  
 Gilliam, Mrs. James R., Jr., Lynchburg, Virginia  
 Gillman, C. E., Kansas City  
 Gillman, George J., Kansas City  
 Goad, Mrs. Frank A., Scottsville, Kentucky  
 Gold, Henry Clay, Lee's Summit  
 Goley, Harold J., Kansas City  
 Goughenour, Daniel A., Jr., St. Louis  
 Gray, J. Hal, New Bloomfield  
 Green, Mrs. J. Wilbur, Claremore, Oklahoma  
 Greene, Mrs. Robert R., Mission, Kansas  
 Greenwood, William R., Avondale  
 Greer, Mrs. Ewing, Centerview  
 Griffin, Mrs. Effie B., Atlanta  
 Grumman, Mrs. H. R., St. Louis  
 Gruner, Elizabeth L., Paramount, California  
 Hadley, Ralph, Lowry City  
 Halbert, E. J., St. James  
 Hale, Porter T., II, Kansas City  
 Hall, Robert, Parkville  
 Hall, Mrs. Tom, Webster Groves  
 Hamelmann, Orville E., Kirkwood  
 Haney, Mrs. J. O., Marceline  
 Hankins, Mrs. W. L., Ponca City, Oklahoma  
 Hansford, Mrs. Lena, Kansas City  
 Harlow, Mrs. Maude, Joplin  
 Havens, G. H., Jefferson City  
 Hayden, Ivan, Kirksville  
 Hayman, Robert G., Carey, Ohio  
 Heidtmann, H. H., Macon  
 Henderson, Mrs. C. L., Osceola  
 Hickman, Holme, Hannibal LIFE  
 Hicks, Mrs. Arlene P., Sedalia  
 Higgins, Mrs. R. F., San Diego, California  
 Hill, Chester, Novinger  
 Hill, Commodore Perry, Jr., Flat River  
 Hill, James K., Palo Alto, Calif.  
 Hill, James M., New Boston LIFE  
 Hitchman, Robert, Seattle, Wash.  
 Hodson, Norman B., Kansas City  
 Hoehler, Karen, Parkville  
 Hoehns, Victor E., Smithton  
 Hoff, Frank H., Jennings  
 Hoff, William E., Stillwater, Okla.  
 Holekamp, Mr. and Mrs. R. E., Webster Groves  
 Holliway, Robert E., Jr., Jefferson City  
 Holmes, Daniel E., Springfield  
 Hook, G. V., Columbia  
 Horn, Mrs. Henrietta, Los Angeles, California  
 Houghland, Mrs. H. E., Van Buren  
 Howard, Roger M., Liberty  
 Howerton, Richard, Kirksville  
 Hughes, Mrs. Donald, Denver  
 Hughes, Ford, St. James  
 Hulen, R. P., North Kansas City  
 Hunt, Sylvia, Appleton City LIFE  
 Huston, Frank F. B., San Francisco, California  
 Hutchison, Mrs. Preston, Versailles  
 Independence Sanitorium & Hospital, Springfield  
 Ingram, Imogene, Morrisville  
 Jackson, Mrs. June, Kirkwood  
 Jacobs, Harry R., Salisbury  
 Jacobs, Mort, Overland  
 James, Roger, Kansas City  
 James, Mrs. Richard, Mansfield, Ohio  
 James, Walter R., Kansas City  
 Janney, Mrs. Andrew J., Carthage  
 Johnson, Charlena, Parkville  
 Johnson, Mrs. Pete, Liberty  
 Jones, C. Leroy, Jefferson City  
 Jones, Mrs. Clyde, Ferndale, Wash.  
 Jones, Mrs. R. W., Neosho  
 Kehoe, James T., Jr., Kansas City LIFE  
 Kellett, Mr. and Mrs. H. C., West Plains



- Kelly, Jo Ann, Parkville  
 Kemper, Mrs. Willis, Westboro  
 King, Roscoe, Kansas City  
 Kinley, Mrs. William, Sedalia  
 Kirby, Mrs. M. G., Joplin  
 Kite, Robert, Odessa  
 Klein, Francis A., St. Louis LIFE  
 Klein, Horace A., Ft. Madison, Iowa LIFE  
 Knost, Keith H., Fayette  
 Kuhlman, Harold G., Ferguson  
 Kunz, Jack R., Plainview, Texas  
 Kupchin, Joe, Seneca  
 Landahl, William, Blue Springs  
 Lastelic, Joseph, Kansas City, Kansas  
 Levy, Ernest M., Jefferson City  
 Lewis, Jack, Lancaster, Calif.  
 Lewis, Mrs. John, Huntsville  
 Liechti, Warren, Kansas City  
 Lindell, Mrs. E. E., Roseburg, Ore.  
 Lingle, Ida, El Cajon, Calif.  
 Linn, Frank J., Marshfield  
 Linn, Mrs. Ruth J., Marshfield  
 Linscott, William M., Lee's Summit  
 Little, Nelson, Columbia  
 Lloyd, Mrs. Charles Q., Columbia  
 Lloyd, Wright G., Kansas City  
 Long, Joseph L., Los Angeles, Calif.  
 Loper, Mrs. Price, Malta Bend  
 Lozier, Mrs. Lue C., Moberly LIFE  
 Luckie, Mrs. Bert, Montgomery City  
 McAtee, Ralph, Shook  
 McCormick, Mrs. Bertha, Brookfield  
 McCulloch, Mrs. S. E., Parma  
 McDavitt, Lavern, Knoxville, Ill.  
 McDowell, Dewey, Elvins  
 McFarland, Glennon E., Liberty  
 MacKenzie, Mrs. R. Dwight, Kansas City  
 Mabry, Mrs. Carrie, Weaubleau  
 Mackey, Mrs. K. E., Phoenix, Ariz.  
 Mainey, Louis B., Lanham, Maryland  
 Malcolm, E. G., Kansas City  
 Manahan, Mrs. Matilda G., Manhattan Beach, California  
 Markley, Robin, Parkville  
 Marolf, Jack L., Parkville  
 Marsh, Patty, Parkville  
 Marshall, Mrs. W. Dorsey, Moberly  
 Martin, Ken, Parkville  
 Martin, Luther W., Rolla  
 Mattingly, Kathleen, Perryville  
 Mattox, Harry, Norborne LIFE  
 Maxeiner, Margaret, Ferguson  
 Mayo, Mrs. W. T., Huntsville  
 Mercer, Rubye, Grant City  
 Merrigan, Don, Liberty  
 Middleton, Robert, Nevada  
 Miles, Mr. and Mrs. J. T., Oak Grove  
 Miller, Mr. and Mrs. Herman R., Columbia  
 Miller, Roy C., Marshfield LIFE  
 Miller, Mrs. Royal W., Jefferson City  
 Moore, Richard W., Independence  
 Moore, Stephanie L., St. Louis  
 Moran, John Thomas, Fairbanks, Alaska  
 Morgan, Mrs. Loren C., Kansas City  
 Morris, Charles M., Jr., Kirkwood  
 Morris, M. B., Norwalk, Calif.  
 Mueller, Melvin, St. Louis  
 Mulvihill, Robert J., Hannibal  
 Munn, William Bragg, Tarkio  
 Nesbitt, Mrs. R. S., Liberty  
 Newell, Mrs. Neva B., Marshall  
 New Madrid High School, New Madrid  
 Nicholas, Thomas A., Casper, Wyo.  
 Nichols, Arthur E., Kansas City  
 Nickel, Russell R., St. Louis  
 Noland, Ann, Parkville  
 Norman, Mrs. Ann B., Ocala, Fla.  
 O'Dowd, E. C., Shawnee Mission, Kansas  
 Ogilvie, Leon, Kansas City  
 O'Keefe, John, St. Louis  
 Olson, Opal L., Monroe City  
 Orear, Gilham, Grand Pass  
 Osterberg, Mrs. Hugh, Idaho Falls, Idaho  
 Otten, Mrs. W. M., Salisbury  
 Packham, Mrs. Louise, Boonville  
 Palmer, Judson L., Liberty  
 Parham, Leona, Baltimore, Maryland  
 Parsons, Mrs. Harry, Wilmette, Ill.  
 Parsons, William G., St. Louis  
 Patton, W. W., Jefferson City  
 Pearman, Robert, Kansas City

- Pease, Mr. and Mrs. R. M., West Plains  
 Peed, Penny, Parkville  
 Peeler, Linda, Parkville  
 Pence, Anna Grace, Norton, Mass.  
 Peters, Fred C., Miami Beach, Fla.  
 Peterson, Clyde, Springfield  
 Phillips, Mr. and Mrs. A., East Prairie  
 Phillips, Frederic N., Salem, Ore.  
 Phillips, S. A., Salem  
 Phipps, Mr. and Mrs. Gary, Gravette, Arkansas  
 Plummer, Mark, Normal, Illinois  
 Porter, Mrs. Ben C., Jefferson City  
 Powell, Warren, Independence  
 Pryor, Brant, University City  
 Ramey, Mrs. Frank, Bethany  
 Randall, Watt, Leawood, Kansas  
 Rausher, Mr. and Mrs. John, Kirkwood  
 Reed, Bonnie, Parkville  
 Reisch, Vincent J., Jennings LIFE  
 Rhine, Chester, Newhall, Calif.  
 Rhodes, Mrs. E. L., Warsaw  
 Richards, Mrs. Carrie West, Salisbury  
 Rightmyer, Allen, Independence  
 Riley, F. S., Kansas City  
 Roseberry, Bertha E., Kirksville  
 Ruether, Urben, Marthasville  
 Rutledge, Robert W., Denver, Colo.  
 St. Mary's Pioneer Historical Society, Independence  
 Sallman, Mrs. F. E., Carthage  
 Sandoz, Mari, New York, N. Y.  
 Schaefer, Ray, Lockwood  
 Schaeperkoetter, Mrs. W. O., Mt. Sterling  
 Schilling, Norman, Leonia, N. J.  
 Schmitz, C. A., New Haven, Conn.  
 Schmitz, J. F., Chamois  
 Schulte, Arthur J., Clayton  
 Schultz, Otto A., Moberly  
 Schwab, Walter H., Independence  
 Seabough, R. H., Overland  
 Seabourn, H. J., Afton  
 Seay, Gordon A., Kansas City  
 Shandrick, Michael, Colorado Springs, Colorado  
 Shane, Frederick E., Columbia  
 Shepard, W. G., Sarasota, Florida  
 Sills, Mrs. Mary Jane, Jefferson City  
 Simpson, Mr. and Mrs. Claiborne, Corsicana, Texas  
 Simpson, Forrest L., St. Louis  
 Smith, Mrs. Helen Derrick, Kansas City  
 Smith, Nadine A., Rigby, Idaho  
 Smith, Raymond F., Sioux City, Iowa  
 Snell, Robert L., Eldorado Springs  
 Sone, Edna, Jefferson City  
 Sparks, Jared, West Plains  
 Spencer, Mrs. Ann, Slater  
 Starks, Jackie, Parkville  
 Stauffacher, C. Gordon, Sedalia  
 Stockman, Anna A., Marshall  
 Stuart, Mr. and Mrs. Pearl, Sedalia  
 Sutton, Gary, Independence  
 Swan, Mrs. E. T., Perry  
 Swenson, Cliff, North Kansas City  
 Swenson, Mrs. R. W., St. Joseph  
 Taber, Mrs. Freda, Columbia  
 Tatman, Harriet, Kirkwood  
 Teague, Mrs. Lelia, University City  
 Thacker, Lee, North Kansas City  
 Thayer, Mrs. A. P., Arlington, Va.  
 Thomas, Mrs. Harvey, Liberty  
 Thomas, Kenneth E., Kansas City  
 Thomas, Virginia, Bowling Green  
 Thompkins, Russell, Jefferson City  
 Toalson, M. E., Parkville  
 Tremain, P. L., Columbia  
 Trester, Bill, Jr., Kansas City  
 Trippe, H. C., Shawnee Mission, Kansas  
 Trulington, Mrs. Grudy, Dexter  
 Tryree, Darrel, Cairo  
 Underwood, Gaylene, Parkville  
 University of Massachusetts, Amherst, Massachusetts  
 Upton, J. B., St. Louis  
 Usry, John M., Rolla  
 Van Burkleo, Noble, Houston, Texas  
 Van Winkle, Karl, Appleton City  
 Vernon, Mr. and Mrs. Dallas, Lebanon  
 Wagner, Robert O., St. Louis  
 Wahmann, Russell, Rolla  
 Walker, Jean, Springfield  
 Walsh, Jerome, Jr., New York, N. Y.

Walstrom, Mrs. Charles, Lebanon  
 Warner, Edward W., Glendale  
 Waters, Mrs. E. C., Vandalia  
 Waters, William B., Liberty  
 Watkins, Mrs. E. C., Los Angeles,  
   California  
 Weaver, Mike, Frankford  
 Webb, Becky, Parkville  
 Weiss, L. I., Monett  
 Welty, Mrs. Ruth, Versailles  
 Widger, G. Thomas, Kansas City  
 Wigfield, Dan, Chillicothe  
 Wiley, Maude, Kansas City

Wilson, M. W., Los Angeles, Calif.  
 Wiltshire, Jim, Liberty  
 Winters, Walter G., Granite City,  
   Illinois  
 Wobus, Paul, Manchester  
 Wood, Mrs. James, Kansas City  
 Woods, Billie Kay, Parkville  
 Wyandotte County Historical Society,  
   Kansas City, Kansas  
 Wysong, Kathryn, Kansas City  
 Yeager, Jerry, North Kansas City  
 Yeager, John T., Jr., Kansas City

#### DR. RICHARD S. BROWNLEE ADDRESSES LEGISLATURE

Dr. Richard S. Brownlee, Director of the Society, spoke before a joint session of the Missouri House and Senate in commemoration of the Civil War Centennial at Jefferson City on May 12.

Dr. Brownlee took the Governor, Lieutenant Governor, State officials, and members of the Legislature back 100 years to describe how Missouri became involved in the Civil War. He then told how the State Government collapsed and how a convention to consider Missouri's relationship to the Union abolished the legislature and the executive offices.

Union troops occupied the State, and their generals took command of Missouri as a military department, suspending the writ of *habeas corpus* and treating the citizens as those of a conquered power.

Dr. Brownlee further stated that normal society broke down because of guerrilla warfare and Confederate invasion, and that the extra-legal State Government was maintained for four years only by bayonets. Thousands of men were killed, millions of dollars worth



Irwin, Mo. St. Park System

Rep. Thomas D. Graham, Speaker of the House, Lieut. Gov. Hillary A. Bush, Rep. Robert E. Young, and Governor John M. Dalton Listen As Dr. Brownlee Addresses the Joint Session

of property was destroyed, and whole areas of Missouri were depopulated. "This was the Civil War in Missouri," he said, "a true civil war in the precise definition of that term, brother against brother, neighbor against neighbor, community against community."

#### MISSOURI ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY RECEIVES RECOGNITION

The American Association for State and Local History has recognized the achievements of the Missouri Archaeological Society by granting the organization an Award of Merit. W. C. Hewitt, Shelbyville, a Trustee of The State Historical Society, made the presentation at the archaeologists' annual meeting in Hannibal on April 30, and Henry Hamilton of Marshall, president of the award winning group, accepted the plaque.

The Association has presented such awards annually since 1948 to honor past accomplishments and to stimulate interest in the collection and preservation of local history. Each year the awards committee of the Association gathers data and recommendations from the various state and provincial historical societies and announces its selections for awards at the Association's annual meeting.

#### MURAL DEDICATED AT HARRY S. TRUMAN LIBRARY

"Independence and the Opening of the West," a mural by Thomas Hart Benton in the Harry S. Truman Library at Independence, was dedicated in special ceremonies at the Library on April 15. Chief Justice Earl Warren of the United States Supreme Court delivered the dedicatory address, and Dr. Wayne C. Grover of Washington, archivist of the United States, accepted on behalf of the Government.

David D. Lloyd of New York City, executive secretary of the Harry S. Truman Library Corporation, and Eugene Savage of New York City, representing the Abbey Mural Fund and National Academy of Design, the two organizations which provided the artist's \$60,000 fee, made the formal presentation, Thomas Hart Benton presented the mural to Harry S. Truman, and the former President responded.

Before the ceremony the Kansas City American Legion Band played a concert, and after the dedication the Trumans honored the artist with a reception in the Library's Garden Room.

## LOCAL HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

The Audrain County Historical Society dedicated its museum with special ceremonies on May 13, as L. B. Hawthorne, a member of the board of trustees, offered the invocation; Robert S. Green, president of the society, made introductory remarks and presented the guests; Mrs. George Maurice Morris of Washington, D. C., spoke on behalf of the Ross family in dedicating the Ross Room; and Howard Adams of Blue Springs, former president of the Jackson County Historical Society, gave the principal address. The museum is located in the renovated home originally built by John P. Clark in the 1850's but more commonly called the Ross House for James Evans Ross, a prominent citizen of Mexico, who purchased the house in 1874.

The new Butler County Historical Society was granted articles of incorporation on October 27. Officers include Mrs. B. K. Flanery, president; C. W. Knuckles and Lester W. Massingham, vice presidents; Fred M. Morrow, secretary; and Robert A. Seifert, treasurer.

The Callaway County Historical Society met in the auditorium of the Missouri School for the Deaf at Fulton on April 24 and heard a report on the Hermann Maifest by Mrs. August Bottermuller of Hermann, who showed colored slides and explained the origins of the annual spring festival.

Members of the Cape Girardeau County Historical Society previewed their new museum on May 6 at their quarterly meeting in the Common Pleas Courtroom in Cape Girardeau. The museum will be opened to the public on May 28.

The Carroll County Historical Society met at DeWitt on April 27 and enjoyed a tour of historic points in the area, followed by a covered dish luncheon at the Christian Church.

The Carter County Historical Society, meeting in Van Buren on April 10, elected the following officers: Colma Thomason, president; Noel Burrows, vice president; and C. P. Turley, secretary-treasurer.

The Dade County Historical Society met in the community building in the Greenfield Park on April 18 and heard papers by

John Billingsley and Howard O. Wilson on the history of Dade County's banks.

The society gave a luncheon to honor Dr. Richard S. Brownlee before he addressed an assembly at the Everton High School on April 26.

The Florissant Historical Society has acquired "Taille De Noyer" (Walnut Grove), the home of Mrs. Sarah Chambers Polk and her son, William Julius Polk, Jr., and is moving the 23-room structure, which had its beginning in a three-room log cabin constructed 170 years ago, 200 yards to a site provided by the Florissant-Ferguson school district. Until recently the property has been occupied continuously since shortly after 1800 by descendants of John Mullanphy, early St. Louis merchant-trader. The society plans to renovate the first floor, furnish it with period furniture, and establish a museum in the home.

The society met in January and on April 20 to discuss the acquisition of the Polk home, the progress in moving the house, and other projects now in the planning stage.

The April issue of the "Florissant Valley Historical Society Quarterly" includes a biographical sketch of John Mullanphy, 1758-1833.

The Gentry County Historical Society, meeting in the Stanberry R-II School Auditorium on April 9, enjoyed a special Civil War program which included a discussion of "The Civil War in Missouri" by Homer Pyle of Lamoni, Iowa; a movie, "The True Story of the Civil War"; and a performance by three of the four surviving members of the Cainsville Fife and Drum Corps. New officers of the society include Dr. G. F. Kling, president; V. C. Humphrey and Edgar Lippincott, vice presidents; H. H. Manring, treasurer; Mrs. Chester Burks and Mrs. Ross Wharton, secretaries; Robert Birbeck, historian; George Vogt, parliamentarian; and Mrs. W. B. Yeater, archivist.

Beecher Sheeley, history instructor at Parkview High School, discussed many interesting facets of Springfield history at the meeting of the Greene County Historical Society in the Springfield Art Museum on March 23.

The Hickory County Historical Society, meeting in the courthouse at Hermitage on March 17, heard a paper on "The Covered Wagon Days of Emma Bergman Perkins" by Sherman Lee Pompey and histories of the old Defenseless Mennonite Church southwest of Wheatland and the Reorganized Latter Day Saints Church two miles north of Wheatland.

The Lafayette County Historical Society held its Charter Night banquet in the First Christian Church at Odessa on April 6 and heard Dr. Richard S. Brownlee discuss problems and profits in the publication of a book. Lieutenant Colonel H. E. Link, professor of military science at Wentworth Military Academy, Lexington, discussed plans for the reenactment of the Battle of Lexington on May 18. Officers elected include Leslie H. Bell, president; Mrs. Lutie Gordon Jordon and Sam Schooling, vice presidents; Harry Voigt, secretary; Leon Wollenman, treasurer; John R. Wallace, historian; and Richard Bricken, reporter.

The Lawrence County Historical Society, meeting at the county library in Mount Vernon on April 17, heard Mrs. J. Fred Mermoud tell of her research concerning the first Sunday School in Southwest Missouri.

The Macon County Historical Society held its annual dinner meeting in the Jefferson Hotel at Macon on April 13 and heard Dr. Richard S. Brownlee discuss "General Grant in Missouri." Officers elected include Lawson Romjue, president; George Brammer and Mrs. Ben Jones, vice presidents; Mary Graves, secretary; and Mrs. Howard Gilleland, treasurer.

Mr. and Mrs. Waldrige Powell of St. James have deeded to the Phelps County Historical Society 1.7 acres of land with a two-room log cabin built by Levi Snelson in 1834 and located in Crawford County one-fourth mile east of the low water bridge where Highway 8 crosses the Meramec River. The *Rolla Daily News*, May 11, includes a brief history of the cabin.

The Pike County Historical Society, meeting at the Methodist Church in Frankford on April 18, heard Mike Weaver discuss "The History of Frankford and Penno Township."



The Platte County Historical Society, meeting in the Christian Church at Platte City on April 26, heard Dr. C. Stanley Urban, professor of history at Park College, present a paper on "The Historian As Detective, Legend Versus Fact."

The St. Charles County Historical Society sponsored an antique show and sale on April 21-23 as a part of its effort to finance the purchase of an old home to house the archives of the society.

Forty-three members and friends of the Saline County Historical Society visited the Nelson Art Gallery in Kansas City on April 9 to view the display of works of George Caleb Bingham, prepared in commemoration of the 150th anniversary of the artist's birth.

Three authors read essays treating Civil War days in Saline County as the Saline County Historical Society met in Murrell Library of Missouri Valley College, Marshall, on March 28. The essays were winners in the society's second annual contest for high school students of the county. Miss Vivian Vogel of Marshall won first with "Pleasant Grove"; Miss Barbara Odom of Marshall placed second with "Civil War Days in Saline County"; and Miss Sandra McRoberts of Malta Bend wrote the third place paper, "Andrew Jackson McRoberts."

New officers elected include A. H. Orr, president; Pat Barnard, first vice president; Clarah F. Brown, secretary; and Mrs. Bessie McAmis, treasurer.

The Westport Historical Society has joined with the University of Kansas City to sponsor a ten-week class in Local History Research. The class, which meets in the new Kansas City Public Library where it has ready access to material in the Missouri Valley Room, is taught by Dr. A. T. Brown, Director of Local History Research at the University.

The officers of the society are Mrs. Lucile B. Reynolds, president; Mrs. George O. Wilson and William K. Young, vice presidents; Mrs. Lawrence Smith and Mrs. Dorothy Vincent, secretaries; Charles Bates, treasurer; and Mrs. George Wilson, historian.

The Westport Historical Society met at the Westport Library on January 15 and heard Dr. Howard Monnett, assistant dean of Kansas City Junior College, discuss the Battle of Westport.

The society joined with the Daughters of Old Westport to arrange a display of Westport antiques, relics, and documents in the Jackson County Library on March 12.

Dr. Richard S. Brownlee addressed the society at its regular meeting on April 16.

The Historical Association of Greater St. Louis, meeting in Siek Hall of Concordia Seminary, Clayton, on April 7, heard Stanley B. Kimball of Southern Illinois University, Alton Branch, speak on "Slavism: Pan-Austro-Neo," and Brooks Ballard, Jr., of The Principia discuss "Perils of Modernization in Timeless Africa."

The Missouri Historical Society of St. Louis met in the Clayton High School Auditorium on December 2 and heard its director, Charles van Ravenswaay, present "A Mid-Western Tour," in which he discussed the German and French influences on the predominantly Anglo-American culture of the American frontier.

On January 27 George Schriever, a native St. Louisian who is now connected with the Kennedy Galleries, Inc., of New York, addressed the society on Currier & Ives prints.

Dr. Walter Muir Whitehill, director and librarian of the Boston Athenaeum, analyzed the future role of the independent historical society in the United States in speaking to the society on February 24.

The Native Sons of Kansas City have named the following officers for 1961: Charles F. Rouse, president; Bernard J. Duffy and Bert M. Hall, Jr., vice presidents; Sterrett S. Titus, secretary; Gleed Gaylord, treasurer; and James Anderson, historian.

Members of St. Mary's Catholic Church, Independence, have organized St. Mary's Pioneer Historical Society to preserve the history of the parish. The society will gather archival material and hopes to establish a museum. The officers include Mrs. Robert Green, president; Mrs. George Menke, secretary; Fairlee Teagarden, treasurer; and Marie Lentz and Mrs. William L. Antoine, public relations.

The Civil War Round Table of the Ozarks, meeting at Galli's Half-a-Hill Club near Springfield on April 12, heard Dr. W. J.

Marshall, Springfield ophthalmologist since 1943, speak on "Medical Services in the Civil War."

The Round Table met in Springfield on May 12 to hear Robert E. Young of Carthage discuss "The Battle of Carthage."

The Missouri "Show Me" Club of Los Angeles met at Clifton's Cafeteria on March 17 for a program by Rolla E. Chandler, a University of Missouri graduate in forestry, which included a discussion of prospects for a paper pulp mill in southern Missouri and of operations of the Land Bureau in Southern California.

The Missouri Society of Wichita, Kansas, celebrating its forty-seventh anniversary at its February meeting, named Mrs. Maude L. Wiseman Bohn an honorary member of the society. Mrs. Bohn is a native of Rich Hill, Missouri, where her father founded the *Western Enterprise* in 1881. Officers in the society are Ralph F. Carpenter, president; Mrs. James A. Green, historian; and Dora Cox, corresponding secretary.

#### ANNIVERSARIES

Worth County, the smallest county in Missouri, will observe its centennial on August 8 to 13 with a variety of activities, including a pageant of early historical events on four evenings. Kelton Shipley of Grant City is general chairman for the celebration.

The Jackson County Historical Society paid tribute to George Caleb Bingham on March 19 in a memorial service held at his grave in old Union Cemetery in Kansas City. This year is the 150th anniversary of the Missouri artist's birth. Ross Taggart, curator at the Nelson Art Gallery and the Atkins Museum, Kansas City, spoke of Bingham's place in history and Frederic James, Kansas City artist, representing the artists of Greater Kansas City, placed a wreath on the grave. The Jackson County Historical Society has covered the headstone with a protective coating to protect it from further weathering.

Cape Girardeau County, an area rich with Civil War history and the site of four forts built by General Ulysses S. Grant, will have a special week of Civil War Centennial ceremonies on May 28-June 3. A permanent museum on the second floor of the historic

Common Pleas Court House will be dedicated on opening day, after which the program will include a reception, parade, and tour of sites of interest.

The Fairmount *Inter-City News* observed its fiftieth anniversary by publishing on May 12 a special 32-page anniversary edition with a number of articles of historic interest.

The Methodist Church of Garden City has denoted 1961 as "Diamond Jubilee Year," and special emphasis is being given to the entire church program. A brief history of the church, which was founded in 1886, appears in the *Garden City Views*, January 11.

Glasgow will observe the 125th anniversary of its incorporation with a pageant and other entertainment on August 31-September 4.

Liberty observed the ninety-fifth anniversary of what is purported to be the first daylight bank robbery in the United States with a reenactment on April 15 of the \$65,000 robbery of the Clay County Savings Bank.

The First Methodist Church of Rolla observed its centennial on May 4-10. To commemorate the anniversary the church published a centennial brochure which includes a condensation of the organization's history as written by Mrs. Bonita Mann and Dr. C. V. Mann.

The St. Clair Methodist Church observed its centennial with special services on April 30.

The Chamber of Commerce of Metropolitan St. Louis prepared the March issue of its monthly publication, *St. Louis Commerce*, as a 125th anniversary issue in commemoration of its organization on July 15, 1836. Articles of special interest include "The Journal of Jonathan Raleigh Boswell, Esq., 1806-1875," the first installment of a simulated account of the Chamber based on research by members of the editorial staff, and "Chamber Highlights Through the Years." At its anniversary dinner the Chamber paid special tribute to 15 present day St. Louis area firms and institutions that were in operation 125 years ago: Aetna Insurance Company; General Grocer Company; Laclede Gas Company; Liggett & Myers Tobacco

Company; Lindenwood College; Merchants Exchange; Mermod-Jaccard & King Jewelry Company; Peters Division, International Shoe Company; Saint Louis University; Ben J. Selkirk & Sons; Sickles, Inc.; Sligo, Inc.; Stark Bros. Nurseries & Orchards Company; Terminal Railroad Association of St. Louis; and Teutenberg Bakeries.

#### HONORS AND TRIBUTES

Dr. Raymond E. Peck, professor of geology at the University of Missouri, has been selected to receive the second annual Distinguished Faculty Award and \$1,000 cash prize given by the University Alumni Association. Dr. Peck was chosen for the honor by a special committee of the University faculty on the basis of his outstanding teaching, research, and service.

A native of Hamilton, Dr. Peck received his B.A. from Park College and his M.A. and Ph.D. from the University, where he became an instructor in 1930. He is known internationally for his work in micropaleontology and stratigraphy.

Dr. A. C. Ragsdale, chairman of the department of dairy husbandry at the University of Missouri, was honored on April 12 at a dinner at the Student Union in recognition of his 45 years of service with the University. Dr. Ragsdale will retire on September 1, after serving as department chairman since 1919.

Among those honored by the University of Missouri School of Journalism during its annual Journalism Week activities was T. Ballard Watters, who received the Missouri Honor Award on May 5 with a citation for "his successful career as editor and publisher of the *Marshfield Mail*" and "his contribution to Missouri journalism through his active leadership in the affairs of the Missouri Press Association." Mr. Watters has been a Trustee of The State Historical Society since 1944.

Mrs. Herbert Ewing Duncan, the wife of a Kansas City minister and architect, has been named Missouri Mother of the Year for 1961. The Missouri Mothers' Committee, headed by Mrs. George Diemer of Kansas City, also nominated Mrs. Agnes Wise Dooley of St. Louis for a special national award. Mrs. Dooley is the mother of the late Dr. Thomas A. Dooley, who died in January after establishing a medical care outpost in Laos.

Mrs. Duncan has spent most of her life in Kansas City and has become widely known for her church activities and her work in the Girl Scouts. Mr. and Mrs. Duncan have three children: Herbert Ewing Duncan, Jr., a Kansas City architect; Burris Richard Duncan, a Cincinnati physician; and Carol Virginia Duncan, a senior at the University of Kansas.

## NOTES

George White, the talented cartoonist of the Tampa, Florida, *Tribune*, has given the Society a collection of his cartoons, through the arrangement of L. M. White, a Trustee of the Society. This selection deals largely with President Harry S. Truman and with Fidel Castro.

Mrs. Edward Henrotin of Cherry Plain, New York, has given the Society two letters written from Lexington in September, 1861, by her great-uncle, Isaac Hockaday, to his mother, Mrs. Irvine Otis Hockaday, of Fulton, in which he provides some interesting information about the Battle of Lexington.

Mrs. Hazel Murphy Willa of Bonne Terre has loaned the Society for copying her typescript reproduction of the diary kept by her great-uncle, Andrew Lopp Murphy, when he accompanied his brother, Franklin, and a company of other St. Francois County residents on an overland trip by ox-drawn covered wagons during the gold rush of 1849.

Mrs. Carl Otto of Washington has given the Society a group of selected titles from the library of her father, the late Hugh Stephens, of Jefferson City.

W. Howard Adams of Blue Springs has given the Society a photostatic copy of a special order issued by General Thomas Ewing on September 19, 1863, banishing John Poyntz, a resident of Cass County, from the District of the Border and the State under the provisions of Order No. 11.

The Society has acquired photostatic copies of 21 pages of correspondence, exhibits, citations, and documentary evidence regarding the Cockrell family in Missouri through the courtesy of Monroe F. Cockrell of Evanston, Illinois.

William J. Dale, chief curator of the Oklahoma Historical Society, has given the Society four photostatic copies of \$1.25 certificates issued at French Point, Missouri, by T. R. Livingstone & Company and redeemable at J. M. Bryant's Store in the Cherokee Nation.

Warren D. Welliver of Columbia has given the Society a body of material and pictures relating to the late Donald M. Nelson, a native of Hannibal, who became executive vice president of Sears, Roebuck and Company, served as chairman of the War Production Board, 1942-1944, and was personal representative of the President to China and Russia, 1943-1944.

The Harry S. Truman Library in Independence, which now has over 45,000 volumes dealing with the career and administration of President Truman, attracted 158,167 visitors in 1960, including 23,220 in educational groups and 52 scholars who came to use research facilities. The Library is now emphasizing the acquisition of papers that will fill in the story of Mr. Truman's pre-senatorial career, and it has commitments from 44 associates of the former President and officials in the Truman administrations for the deposit of their papers.

Frederick Dunlap of Columbia, a former State Forester and retired professor of forestry at the University of Missouri, has given the Society a 200-page typescript copy of Aldo Leopold, "Report on a Game Survey of Missouri," prepared in 1930.

Mrs. Fannie F. Edgell of Jefferson City has given the Society typescript copies of the inscriptions found in 35 cemeteries, eleven in Pettis County, ten in Cole County, eight in Moniteau County, three in Morgan County, two in Callaway County, and one in Pike County.

The Clay County Museum Association, which adopted bylaws and a constitution on March 1, was granted a petition of incorporation on March 24 by Judge Kenneth Elliott of the Clay County Circuit Court. The association, with the assistance of Liberty civic organizations, sponsored an old homes tour on April 16. Officers include William Eldridge, president; James E. Davis, vice president; Mrs. Mary A. Hall, secretary; and Mrs. Dorothy Holm, treasurer.

Mrs. Anna Hesse of Hermann has given the Society a copy of the April-May issue of *The German-American Review*, which includes her article, "This Is Our Heritage." The essay briefly discusses the history of Hermann and the Maifest from the organization of the Deutsche Ansiedlungs-Gesellschaft in 1836 to the present time.

Mr. and Mrs. John J. Jones of Columbia have given the Society a number of selected volumes belonging to the family of the late J. W. Wight of Moberly.

The Jasper County Museum, Inc., located on the first floor of the Carthage courthouse in quarters provided by the Jasper County Court, was formally opened and dedicated on May 4 in ceremonies at the courthouse. Charles M. Cook is director of the museum.

Professor William M. Jones of the University of Missouri has given the Society a copy of his article, "Hugo of Rocheport," reprinted from *Western Folklore*, XX (January 1961), 23-25. Hugo Diederich was a barber whose fame has become legendary in central Missouri.

Mrs. Lula C. Long of Potosi has given the Society a chronological listing of important events in the Austin family from 1666 until December 27, 1837, the date of the death of Stephen F. Austin, the last to bear the family name.

A meeting held in Arrow Rock Tavern on April 9 to discuss arrangements for summer theatre at the village resulted in the organization of the Arrow Rock Lyceum. The group plans to establish a repertory theatre, presenting plays which were popular in the nineteenth century, to open on July 5 and run for six weeks.

Mrs. Stephen F. McCready of Ocala, Florida, has given the Society a copy of "The Polk Family," a 107-page illustrated history compiled by Trusten Polk Drake, Jr., of Ocala, a grandson of Trusten Polk, Governor of Missouri in 1857 and United States Senator from 1857 to 1862.

Mrs. R. E. Moulds of Meadville has given the Society a copy of "History of School District Reorganization in Chariton County,



Missouri, 1948-1959," a 28-page typescript compiled by her cousin, the late Irvin Williams, of Sumner.

Joseph E. Vollmar, Jr., of St. Louis has prepared an eight-page typescript article which, with 24 pictures, fully describes the operation of carding and spinning on the antique spinning wheel.

Sherman Lee Pompey of Warrensburg has given the Society a copy of his mimeographed publication, "The Genealogies of John Peter Bergmann . . . And His Wife Priscilla Catherine Twogood. . . ."

Frank H. Skelly of Columbia has given the Society a collection of reports, pictures, maps, and blueprints pertaining to the Rhine River and collected by his father, J. W. Skelly, who served in World War I as Major, Twelfth Engineers, American Expeditionary Force. Major Skelly, a native of Mexico, Missouri, received a Bachelor of Science degree in civil engineering from the University of Missouri in 1896.

Thomas R. Beveridge of the Division of Geological and Water Resources has supplied the Society with two copies of the Missouri map which shows minor civil divisions.

The Missouri Resources and Development Commission has issued a new promotional publication, *Missouri's 'Show Me' Family Vacationland*, a 40-page booklet which describes the State's diversified recreational attractions in interesting language aided by 121 pictures in full color. Gerald R. Massie is editor, he and Ralph W. Walker handled the photography, Barbara Jones arranged the art layout, and Irene Brown prepared the essay.

Mrs. Eunice J. Smith of Grandview has given the Society a manuscript which describes the hideout built by her grandfather, John Reid Jones, a Confederate soldier who had served at Pea Ridge, which enabled him to spend a long rest period within a half-mile of the Federal post near Hickman Mills.

Mrs. W. A. Snell of Denver, Colorado, has given the Society the saber carried by her grandfather, Nicholas R. Hines, during the Civil War. Mr. Hines, a native of Kentucky, served in the Eleventh Missouri Cavalry from 1861 to 1865 and farmed in Gentry and

Mercer counties, Missouri, and Hancock County, Illinois, after the war.

Mrs. Octavia Triplett of Triplett has given the Society an interesting collection of old promissory notes.

Mrs. Edith W. Turner of Kansas City has given the Society a copy of "The Penn School," her eleven-page manuscript which presents the history of a school referred to as "the oldest in Kansas City."

Mrs. Ilene Sims Yarnell of Versailles has given the Society material relating to the Big Rock Baptist Church of Morgan County, including the 1868-1869 subscription lists for the construction of the church.

Mrs. Ruth Beauchamp Lindell of Roseburg, Oregon, has given the Society a copy of her *Civil War Experiences of Thomas J. Beauchamp*, a 16-page booklet which includes a newspaper interview that describes her grandfather's imprisonment at Andersonville.

Lilburn A. Kingsbury has recently written three articles concerning Boonslick salt springs in Howard County, "Where the Boones Made Salt—a State Park," in the *Kansas City Times*, August 30; "Springs Where Boone's Sons Made Salt to Be State Park," in the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, November 7; and "Where the Boones Made Salt," in *Spout*, the trade magazine of the Morton Salt Company, February, 1961.

In connection with the Civil War Centennial the *Carthage Evening Press* is reprinting each Wednesday, beginning on March 15, an installment of *Jasper County, Missouri*, a book by Ward L. Schrantz, which was originally published in 1923.

"Battle of Fredericktown Pitted Blue Against Gray," in the Fredericktown *Democrat News*, March 30, reproduces the text of an address given by Henry C. Thompson of Bonne Terre before the Fredericktown Rotary Club on March 27. Mr. Thompson is a Trustee of The State Historical Society.

The Jefferson City *Daily Capital News*, May 3, includes a brief history of "Lincoln University, An Important Part of Our Community."

The *Kansas City Star* has recently carried seven major articles treating the Civil War in west central Missouri and the adjacent area in Kansas: Robert Pearman, "The Civil War Comes to Missouri," February 19; Fred Kiewit, "The Battle of Lexington—Southern Sympathy and Hemp Bale Strategy Carry the Day," March 5; Robert Pearman, "The Tide of War Turns in the West," March 19; Joe Lastelic, "Battle of Lone Jack—The Crack of a Rifle Shot Delayed a Confederate Victory," March 26; "Civil War's Devastation in Kansas City Area—Order No. 11 Drove Families from Border Homes in 1863," April 9; Howard N. Monnett, "Decisive Conflict: The Battle of Westport," April 23; and Joe Lastelic, "Union Victory at Mine Creek Ends Civil War Hostilities in the West," April 30.

The *Star* of April 23 included aerial photographs with numbers and commentary to provide an interesting tour of the area on which the Battle of Westport took place on October 21-23, 1864.

"Sacking of Liberty Arsenal Brought Civil War to Missouri," an article by George E. McCuiston in the *Kansas City Times*, April 27, briefly summarizes an action which took place on April 20, 1861.

"Pre-Civil War Homestead Is Link in Laclede County's Past," an illustrated feature by Billie Lee Walstrom in the *Lebanon Rustic-Republican*, March 2, discusses the war in the county and the pre-Civil War home of James Harvey Fulbright, located ten miles north of Lebanon.

"Rebels Murdered County Man Says Historic Grave Marker," an article by Billie Lee Walstrom in the *Rustic-Republican*, May 11, describes the death of Alfred Smithpeter on December 24, 1861.

"Shall Building Be Preserved for Monument," a feature by J. P. Moore in the *Liberal News*, April 6, summarizes the history of Spiritual Science Hall, derisively called "Spook Hall," which was built in 1890.

"New Holdup Clues in Old Bank Robbery," a feature by William E. Eldridge in the *Liberty Tribune*, discusses the robbery of the Clay County Savings Bank on February 13, 1866.

"Tragedy in Gray," a feature by Glen I. Johnson in the *Marshall Daily Democrat-News*, April 17, discusses the duel between Brigadier General Lucius M. Walker and Brigadier General John S. Marmaduke, both of the Confederate Army, which resulted in the death of the former. Marmaduke later served as governor of Missouri, 1885-1887.

The *Democrat-News*, April 29, carried the essay which placed first in the Saline County Historical Society's contest for high school students of the county. The winner was "Pleasant Grove," by Vivian Vogel, a junior at Mercy High School, Marshall.

"Callaway Building of Historic Interest," a feature by Ralph Gregory in the *Marthasville Record*, March 17, discusses "the oldest and most historic house remaining in this area . . . the Flanders Callaway house near Marthasville."

"Remodeling Ralls County Jail, County's Third, Built in 1867-69," an illustrated feature by Mrs. Oliver Howard in the *New London Ralls County Record*, March 23, presents some interesting episodes in Ralls County history.

Tom Warden provides an interesting discussion of the Civil War in Missouri, and especially in Gasconade County, in three installments in the Owensville *Gasconade County Republican* beginning March 23.

"Grave of Mark Twain's Grandfather at Florida Is Marked by Boulder," an illustrated feature by Ralph Gregory in the *Paris Monroe County Appeal*, January 26, discusses the grave of Benjamin Lampton, maternal grandfather of Samuel L. Clemens.

A series of articles entitled "The Civil War in Monroe County" appears in the *Monroe County Appeal* beginning February 16.

Ralph Gregory describes the area which Samuel L. Clemens knew as a youth in "Mark Twain's 'Heavenly Place For a Boy' Near Florida, Missouri," in the *Perry Enterprise*, March 30.

"The Day Rolla and Phelps County Seceded," by Dr. Clair V. Mann, appears in serial form in the *Rolla Daily News* beginning May 9.

The *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, February 5, includes a biography of one of the outstanding collectors of river lore in "River the 64-Year Love of Donald Wright," an illustrated feature by Walter E. Orthwein. Wright is now celebrating his fortieth year as owner, publisher, and editor of *The Waterways Journal*, an outstanding publication dealing with the inland marine industry.

The *Globe-Democrat* of April 16 included a special illustrated feature section, "The Civil War in Missouri," with essays by a member of the staff, David Brown, and by Dr. Richard S. Brownlee. Another staff member, photographer Roy Cook, handled reproduction of the illustrations.

"Storms Pick on Barnett, Mo.," in the *Stover Tri-County Republican*, March 16, provides an interesting discussion of the tornado which struck the area in 1880.

"J. Morrill, Union Soldier Wrote to Wife from Here During Close of War," in the *Warrensburg Standard-Herald*, May 5, includes letters written from near Warrensburg by John Morrill to his wife and family at Hixton, Wisconsin, on April 5 and 8, 1865.

#### HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS

*Grant Moves South*. By Bruce Catton. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1960. 564 pp. Indexed. \$6.50.) This excellent biography covers the two years in Grant's life from June 16, 1861, when he assumed command of a Civil War regiment, the 21st Illinois Infantry, which was rapidly becoming known as "Governor Yates's Hellions," to the fall of Vicksburg in July, 1863. The volume discusses in detail his months in Missouri and his later assaults on Forts Henry and Donelson, the Battle of Shiloh, and the siege of Vicksburg.

In mid-July Grant moved with his regiment to Northeast Missouri, where he was to help hold the area, and especially its bridges and railroads, against Confederate molestation. While at Mexico he "discovered that soldiers who passed a place where liquor was sold on the line of march had a way of smuggling whisky into camp

simply by filling their unloaded muskets with it, plugging the muzzles with pieces of corncob; a trick which a vigilant colonel could detect by ordering a piece cocked and then watching the whisky trickle out at the nipple." [p. 13] And from here he wrote his father on August 3 that he found a state of mind which "he had not expected to meet anywhere in the South, . . . what made them secessionists seemed to be largely a conviction that the Union had in fact broken apart and that they could do nothing but go along with the Confederacy, which was bound to win anyway." [p. 13] In Mexico he also noted the conviction "that one Southron is equal to five Northerners." [p. 14]

While in Missouri, Grant received word of his promotion from colonel to brigadier general, and he launched from the State the first of the campaigns which were ultimately to give him the top rank among Union generals.

The volume contains excellent brief biographical sketches of many of the men with whom Grant came in contact and numerous human interest stories of the period.

*Rebellion in Missouri: 1861. Nathaniel Lyon and His Army of the West.* By Hans Christian Adamson. (Philadelphia: Chilton Company, 1961. xix, 305 pp. Indexed. \$5.00.) The story of General Nathaniel Lyon is one of high drama and of spectacular exploits which began in Missouri with his capture of Camp Jackson on May 10, 1861, at a time when most Northern leaders seemed lethargic, and reached its climax on August 10, 1861, at the Battle of Wilson's Creek, where he died while leading his troops.

In his final 90 days Lyon was a key figure in the events which determined that Missouri should not be lost to the Confederacy in spite of the efforts of Governor Claiborne Fox Jackson. But his appearance on the Civil War scene came too early and was too brief to make a lasting impression on his contemporaries. This volume provides a biography of Lyon with a reexamination of his role at Camp Jackson and his career in the Union Army of the West, a discussion of General Sterling Price's retreat from Jefferson City to Southwest Missouri, an analysis of the Battle of Wilson's Creek in the light of evidence which is available today, and biographical sketches of key figures in Missouri in 1861, including Francis P. Blair, John C. Fremont, John Schofield, William S. Harney, Sterling Price, Claiborne Fox Jackson, Daniel M. Frost, and others.

John K. Hulston of Springfield has written the foreword for this study of the first months of civil warfare in Missouri.

*William Tecumseh Sherman and the Settlement of the West.* By Robert G. Athearn. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1956. xix, 371 pp. Indexed. \$5.00.) William Tecumseh Sherman's role in the Civil War brought him fame as a military commander. In the years immediately following, from 1865 to 1883, he served first as commander of the Military Division of the Missouri, which comprised most of the Great Plains and Rocky Mountain area, and then as General of the Army of the United States.

This was a period of settlement and of Indian warfare in a vast region which Sherman was expected to control with a minimum of troops. He demonstrated real concern with these problems and took great pride in his assignment. As a high ranking army officer with the responsibility of protecting the edge of settlement, he played an important role in the opening of the frontier. This volume discusses the courageous way in which he met repeated crises during this phase of his career.

*Following the Indian Wars.* By Oliver Knight. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1960. xv, 348 pp. Indexed. \$5.95.) The author, a former newspaperman, combines eyewitness accounts of accredited war correspondents who accompanied the military expeditions, known historical facts, and his own interpretation to tell the story of more than 1,000 fights between Indians and troops during the 25 years of Indian warfare from 1866 to 1891. The volume enables the reader to accompany the expeditions, participate in the skirmishes, compare the skill of the officers and troops, and share both the dangers and the relaxations of military life on the trans-Mississippi frontier. The book discusses twelve major campaigns involving such tribes as the Apache, Bannock, Cheyenne, Comanche, Modoc, Kiowa, Nez Perce, Sioux, and Ute, and such commanders as Generals E. R. S. Canby, George Crook, George A. Custer, Nelson Miles, Phil Sheridan, and Alfred Terry, and Colonels John Gibbon and Anson Mills.

*From St. Louis to Sutter's Fort, 1846.* By Heinrich Lienhard. Translated and edited by Erwin G. and Elisabeth K. Gudde. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1961. xix, 204 pp. Indexed. \$3.95.) Heinrich Lienhard, born in Switzerland in 1822,

migrated to New Helvetia, Illinois, in 1843. Three years later he joined two other Swiss and two Germans in an overland trip to California.

The party left St. Louis by boat on April 21, reached Independence on April 25 and, after a three-day halt, began the long journey which ended at the fort of John Sutter, who later employed Lienhard in various capacities. Lienhard died at Nauvoo, Illinois, in 1903.

Lienhard kept a diary which he later developed into one of the most detailed accounts by a traveler who made the overland journey before the gold rush, and this is a translation of that portion which deals with the trip from St. Louis to Sutter's Fort. The editors are well-known linguists with a keen interest in the American West.

*Directory of Historical Societies and Agencies in the United States and Canada, 1961.* Compiled by Clement M. Silvestro and Sally Ann Davis. (Madison, Wisconsin: American Association for State and Local History, 1961. 111 pp. Indexed. \$1.50.) The *Directory* is a biennial publication of the American Association for State and Local History and, like its predecessors, is essentially informational in scope, the major purpose being to present basic data about active historical agencies in the United States and Canada. Information for each entry includes the name and address of the person to whom correspondence should be sent, number of members, and whether the agency has library, manuscripts, archives, or newspaper collections and publications.

*The Florissant Heroines.* By M. Lilliana Owens, S. L. (Florissant, Missouri: King Publishing Company, 1960. xxiv, 45 pp. Indexed. \$1.00.) This booklet narrates the story of the departure of Mother Rose Philippine Duchesne and the Religious of the Sacred Heart from Florissant and the arrival of the Sisters of Loretto at the Foot of the Cross and their work at Loretto Academy and at St. Ferdinand Public and Parochial schools in Florissant. The author is a member of the Sisters of Loretto and has gained recognition as a specialist in the history of the organization.

*Quick Darkness.* By Elston J. Melton. (St. Louis: State Publishing Company, 1960. 200 pp. \$4.95.) This provocative novel with a Missouri locale portrays the decline of a family which had once used its wealth and influence to control a community. The



volume provides a sharp picture of courtroom procedure in a murder trial.

The author has been editor of the Boonville *Cooper County Record* since 1938.

OBITUARIES

ADAMS, HOMER P., Springfield: October 6, 1882-April 26, 1960. Retired businessman.\*

BRANNOCK, FRANK A., Bloomfield: May 21, 1869-March 28, 1961. Retired farmer and realtor. Former educator, county official, and publisher of *Bloomfield Vindicator*. State representative, 1927-1929; 1931-1933.

BRINKMAN, ALBERT B., Ladue: May 19, 1904-March 23, 1961. Retired farmer. State representative, 1937-1941.\*

BUTTS, MRS. MARIE ELIZABETH, Savannah: November 18, 1898-April 2, 1961. Co-editor and co-publisher of *Marceline News* for 26 years. Charter member and former president of Missouri Press Women. Editorial LIFE member.\*

GINTER, JOHN H., Independence: March 2, 1878-October 8, 1960.\*

GRASS, MRS. HARRY W., Ste. Genevieve: October 12, 1903-December 2, 1960.\*

HAMILTON, EDWARD R., Columbia: April 5, 1872-April 4, 1961. Retired insurance agent. Former lawyer.\*

JAMISON, EWING B., Hollywood, California: September 11, 1868-November 15, 1960.\*

KAISER, O. E., Clayton: October 10, 1886-March 27, 1961.\*

KALDOR, COLOMAN, St. Louis: June 23, 1890-September 21, 1960. Founder in 1913 and editor for 45 years of *St. Louis es Videke* (Hungarian). President of St. Louis Association of Foreign Language Newspapers since 1921.\*

LAWHORN, WILLIAM C., Columbia: August 1, 1898-April 12, 1961. Retired farmer.\*

LONG, ETHEL MARIE, Cape Girardeau: October 13, 1909-February 25, 1961. Secretary.\*

MCGREGOR, WILLIAM BARCLAY, Jefferson City: January 29, 1876-March 31, 1961. Former educator, realtor, assistant State budget director, director of State prison farms, and editor of the *Brookfield Budget-Gazette*. State representative, 1921-1924. Secretary of House Appropriations Committee, 1933-1938. For his contribution to the Society see inside back cover of *Review* (July 1956). LIFE editor member.\*

MEYER, CARL F., St. Louis: June 11, 1880-February 9, 1959.\*

MULVIHILL, ARTHUR J., Mascoutah, Illinois: July 16, 1903-March 8, 1961. City manager. Former Hannibal official; city manager at DeSoto, Lebanon, and Slater; foundry associate. Chief executive of foundry group which visited Europe under Marshall Plan.\*

MURRELL, MRS. LULU LAMKIN, Marshall: May 12, 1873-May 12, 1960.\*

OLDENDORF, A. W., University City: June 2, 1892-January 16, 1961.\*

PARSONS, MILDRED F., Syracuse: February 26, 1904-November 23, 1960. Postmaster.\*

SPURLING, VIRGIL L., Columbia: February 21, 1898-April 1, 1961. Executive secretary of University of Missouri Committee on Intercollegiate Athletics.\*

SUMMERS, JOSEPH M., Macon: February 8, 1879-August 12, 1960. Retired farmer and stockman.\*

SWIFT, JOHN S., St. Louis: August 22, 1889-May 19, 1959. Founder in 1912 and board chairman of John S. Swift Lithographers.\*

TAYLOR, FRANK W., Green Bay, Wisconsin: June 10, 1887-January 16, 1961. Newspaperman. Managing editor of St. Louis *Star* and *Star-Times*, 1914-1941.

TOOTLE, HARRY KING, Newtown, Connecticut: June 19, 1882-March 5, 1961. Native of St. Joseph, Missouri. Author. Retired

personnel manager of *New York Times*. Former associate editor and promotion manager of King Features.\*

WILSON, M. R., Overland: July 23, 1901-March 9, 1961. Dentist.\*

YODER, MRS. BYRON E., Rolla: August 31, 1902-August 19, 1960. District editor of *Topographic Bulletin*.\*

YORK, WILLIAM BRANSFORD, Carthage: February 18, 1890-March 6, 1961. Physician and surgeon.\*

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\*A member of the Society.

## MISSOURI HISTORY NOT FOUND IN TEXTBOOKS

### THE INSECT WORLD WAS WARLIKE

From the Columbia *Missouri Statesman*, May 31, 1861.

Army Worm.—These times are prolific of hostile demonstrations all round. Even the insect world is warlike, so much so that the army and cut worms are making invasions upon the wheat, grass and corn. Their ravages are not very general, but we have heard of them in several localities in this county, "coercing" vegetation very fearful and infringing upon "the rights" of our farmers.

### THE HARVEST OF 1819

From the *St. Louis Enquirer*, July 21, 1819.

The wheat harvest came on in Missouri in the first week of July, and yielded an abundant crop. Thirty-five and forty bushels the acre is spoken of, though we have not yet heard of the product of any acre being exactly ascertained. The weight of Missouri wheat is almost incredible, & long as the country has been settled no flies have yet been known to attack it. From this time forth the Missouri can furnish with provisions all the troops which the United States maintain upon the frontiers of the territory.

### A TEST FOR IMMIGRANTS

From the *Odessa Democrat*, January 28, 1916.

It is related that when the first tide of New England settlers began to drift toward the Territory of Kansas (1854) the Missourians tied a cow near each ferry crossing on the Missouri river opposite the Kansas shore and when an immigrant arrived at the ferry he was certain to make some remark about the animal, and if he said "cow" he was allowed to cross, but if he said "keow" he was hustled back east and out of the country, as a bloody-minded Abolitionist. In retaliation for this it is said the Kansas fellows tied a bear on their side of the river and when an immigrant crossed who called it "bear" he was welcomed with open arms, but the fellow who called it "bar" was sent back into Missouri as an unwelcome visitor.

### "COMPARATIVE QUIET" RESTORED TO ST. JOSEPH

From the Columbia *Missouri Statesman*, May 31, 1861.

The Union Flag Hauled Down in St. Joseph by a Mob.—This afternoon [May 22] the Stars and Stripes were hoisted over the Post Office. Soon an excited crowd proceeded to the office, cut the pole down, tore the flag to pieces, threw the pole in the river, and raised a State Flag instead. The latter, however, was ordered down by the leader of the crowd that removed the Stars and Stripes.

Some threats were made against the Postmaster, but no attempt at their execution were made. The crowd then proceeded to Turner's Hall, over which the American flag was waving, and ordered it down, which was complied with without resistance. The crowd soon afterwards dispersed. No acts of violence

were committed. Considerable excitement was rife, but comparative quiet is again restored.

#### REMEMBER THE AIRDOME?

From the *Kansas City Times*, July 1, 1949. Extracted from "Missouri Notes."

Drive-in theaters are being opened in more Missouri towns and in some of them the days of the airdome are being recalled. Such open air theaters were the drive-ins of the stock company days when live talent took over the stage to entertain with thrillers, comedy, or any plot in the books.

The airdome . . . met the need of having a cool place to present a show in summer. Seats usually were arranged in tiers and U-shaped before the stage, the only covered part of the theater. When a storm came you got a raincheck good for some other night in the week. When it didn't rain you sat under the stars on a hard seat and battled at bugs and the heat with a cardboard fan supplied by the management—with the compliments of various advertisers.

But the show was the thing and the troupers good enough to present at least three different plays a week and do them well.

The "fresh buttered popcorn" industry was not so well developed but you could "buy cracker jack here" and "fresh roasted peanuts." There was lemonade between acts. Soda pop began to appear in the last days of the outdoor, 1-week stands by stock companies.

Boys could get a free ticket, even two of them by passing out handbills advertising the show during the day, or a small fee by serving as ushers in the stands.

The airdome also made an ideal place for a summertime political meeting, but that was in the days when candidates spoke with lung power and without the aid of electric-powered sound amplifiers.

#### TWO DIVERGENT POINTS OF VIEW

From the *California News*, June 8, 1861.

. . . And now that . . . the vile minion of Lincoln, NATHANIEL LYON, has assumed command of the horde of vile plundering "Hessians," even the Capital of our State is liable at any moment to be invested and desecrated with the presence of these vulgar and despicable serfs. Lyon, Blair, Boernstein, and the little fice [feist], B. Gratz Brown, are the ruling spirits in the great State of Missouri, invested with power and a willing disposition to rule the State as with a rod of iron, and who, we honestly believe, are disposed to subvert the laws of our State, oppress our people, and lay waste the property of those who will not submit to the dictator, Lincoln, and his Black Republican minions of the North. . . . Freemen of Missouri! be of good cheer, 'the day of your deliverance' from tyranny and oppression draws nigh.

From the *St. Louis Weekly Missouri Democrat*, July 30, 1861.

Had Missouri been left to herself and her loyal citizens, unhindered in their efforts to crush out Gov. Jackson and his rebellious hordes, her position at this day would have been one of comparative peace and quiet. The invasion of Ben McCulloch with his Arkansas troops and wild Indians, and the mustering of Tennessee and Kentucky troops on our southeastern border, with the intention,

sooner or later, to march upon our soil, have not only encouraged and kept alive the spirit of rebellion among the disaffected of our own citizens, but have so complicated our situation as a State, that the eyes of the nation are turned to our condition, and the government is now directing its best energies to our protection and preservation in the Union. . . .

#### AND THE BOLL WEEVIL?

From the Forsyth *Taney County Republican*, February 20, 1908.

How Some Crops Came to Missouri.—The chinch bug brought flax to Missouri, the grasshopper brought the castor bean. Japanese clover butted in, and alfalfa came as a matter of study. This is the conclusion which George B. Ellis, secretary of the state board of agriculture, says tradition justifies. When the chinch bug [sic] played havoc in the wheat of Missouri, the farmers looked about for some crop which would resist the incursions of this pestilent insect. They found that for some reason the chinch bug did not or could not live upon flax, and for a time southwest Missouri had many fields of flax. It is a difficult plant to grow, however, hard and costly to harvest, and the profits in it are not large. Hence when the chinch bug disappeared the cultivation of flax began to diminish. . . . When, in the early '70's, the grasshopper played havoc with western fields, Missouri was invaded also. The castor bean was found by the farmer to be the only green thing which the grasshopper did not eat, hence field upon field of castor beans were planted and to this day may be seen in this section of Missouri, more than anywhere else in the state, fields of this product. The castor bean is employed in the manufacture of an oil, of which most Missouri boys and girls are familiar. Japanese clover came from the southward and year by year it is pushing its way farther up the Ozarks and down the northern slope. It grows with little or no care. Alfalfa, the most profitable hay crop, is to be found in nearly every section of Missouri, where ten years ago little or none was known. The change in Missouri crops has brought about large diversification. Thirty years ago hemp was found in all the Missouri counties. Now there is scarcely any hemp grown in Missouri counties. The cultivation of tobacco has also fallen off largely.

#### THE AMERICAN ROYAL WAS BORN IN A TENT

From the *Kansas City Times*, September 29, 1948. Extracted from "Roots of American Royal Go Back to Cattle Drives on Historic Trails," by John M. Collins.

The roots of the American Royal go back to the days when the first purebred cattle came to the range country; in fact, the show came out of the arguments of cattlemen about the need for and the respective merits of better livestock. It was the time of colorful cattle drivers, with great herds trailing as far as 1,000 miles over the Chisholm and other trails to the railroad at Abilene and Dodge City, Kas. These cattle were shipped eastward to Kansas City, and packing plants sprang up there to process them, . . .

Along with these developments, purebred Hereford, Shorthorn, Angus and Galloway cattle began to appear in the range country for crossing with native longhorned Spanish cattle. Great rivalry arose among the stockmen as to the respective merits of these better breeds. To settle some of these arguments—and

to promote the use of better meat types as compared to the tough and stringy Longhorns—the Kansas City fat-stock show was organized and held its first exhibition in River View park near the stockyards on the banks of the Kaw river in 1882. . . .

The cattle on display at those early fat-stock shows would really be museum pieces today. Those were the times of big families, with demand for huge roasts and plenty of steak. The entries in the 1880's ran from critters tipping the scales at 1,800 pounds up to monsters weighing as much as 2,500 pounds. It was many years before our popular "baby beeves," fat steers of 1,000 pounds at 14 months of age, began to appear in the show ring. . . .

In 1888, Kirkland Brooks Armour . . . was active in organizing the American Hereford Breeders' association, and that year a Hereford show was staged in a tent south of the stockyards.

The next year, the Shorthorn people asked for a part in the show and the combined feature was called the Hereford Shorthorn cattle show and was housed in a horse barn at the stockyards. In 1901 the Galloway breeders joined, and in 1902 the Angus.

The show was named "American Royal" after Dean C. F. Curtis of Iowa State college, a noted livestock judge, attended a British Royal livestock show and later the Kansas City Hereford-Shorthorn show. He told Walter P. Neff, editor of the Daily Drovers Telegram, that the Kansas City show compared favorably with the British Royal. Neff wrote an editorial, which he published January 1, 1901, "Call It the American Royal." The suggestion struck the popular favor, and the show was so christened. . . .

#### THE MOARK ARRIVES

From the Forsyth *Taney County Republican*, February 20, 1908.

Makes a Good Trip to Forsyth, But is Stalled on the Return Voyage.—The good ship Moark . . . arrived at the port of Forsyth from Branson Saturday evening . . . having made the trip down the river in an hour and a half. The boat was met by a goodly portion of the population of this place, who were loud in their welcome of it and the crew.

It was arranged to make the round trip to Branson and return Sunday, starting about eight o'clock in the morning. At the appointed hour some thirty-five passengers answered to the call of all aboard, including the Forsyth band en masse, and the excursion started with the flag flying and the band disbursing sweet music. The fates seemed against the expedition from the start, however, and a stop of a half an hour had to be made . . . to fix the pump which supplied the water for cooling the engine. After this all went merrily, the boat breasting the swift current well, and taking the shoals in brave fashion until the mouth of Bull creek was in sight. This is perhaps the worst pull on the river to Branson, and while pulling up one of the paddles was lost from the right hand wheel, while the engine misbehaved somewhat. This necessitated the tying of the boat to the willows in mid stream while repairs were made, which took about an hour.

In overhauling the engine one of the water pipes was broken, and for a time appearances were favorable for a night in the middle of the river. However, by dint of tying up the injured member with rags and . . . a temporary repair

was made, which held good until the return trip of about fourteen miles to Forsyth was accomplished. . . .

The boat made the landing at town in good shape, and the courage of the party was still good, as manifested by the fact that the flag was still floating, the band was playing the fastest music it knew, and all aboard were a unit wanting to try the trip again sometime.

The Junior was along, and he still has firm faith in the possibility of White river navigation, despite the bad luck that has attended all attempts at such. The high water made too strong a current for the boat to pull at a high speed, but, for the accident to the paddle wheel, a successful trip would in all probability have been made.

#### MISSOURI HISTORICAL DATA IN MAGAZINES

*American Book Collector*, February, 1961: "American Bibliophiles: J. Christian Bay," by Lawrence S. Thompson.

———, April, 1961: "Homer of Croy," by Peter Decker.

*Bulletin of the Missouri Historical Society*, April, 1961: "The Episcopate of Bishop Charles F. Robertson," by Charles F. Rehkopf; "Missouri's Role in the Ragtime Revolution," by Trebor Jay Tichenor; "Blind' Boone: A Sensational Missourian Forgotten," by Robert R. Darch; "Dividing Missouri: The Creation of Arkansas Territory," by Lonnie J. White; "Henry M. Stanley's Letters to the *Missouri Democrat*," by Douglas L. Wheeler.

*Civil War History*, March, 1961: "Confederate Cavalrymen of the Trans-Mississippi," by Stephen B. Oates.

*History News*, March, 1961: "Urban Renewal and Historic Preservation in St. Louis, Missouri," by Robert G. Stewart.

*Illinois State Historical Society Dispatch*, April, 1961: "Brief Background Story About Battle of Belmont."

*Museum News*, February, 1961: "Truman Library's Museum of the Presidency," by Milton F. Perry.

*United Daughters of the Confederacy Magazine*, February, 1961: "The Horror of Northern Prisons [Camp Douglas, near Chicago, and Gratiot Street, St. Louis]," by Claude M. Morgan.



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COMPILED BY MARCIA M. MOSS, B.J.

The names of members of The State Historical Society of Missouri who have obtained new members for the Society and the names of the new members themselves have not been listed individually in this index. References to the list of members are to be found under the heading, State Historical Society of Missouri, membership.

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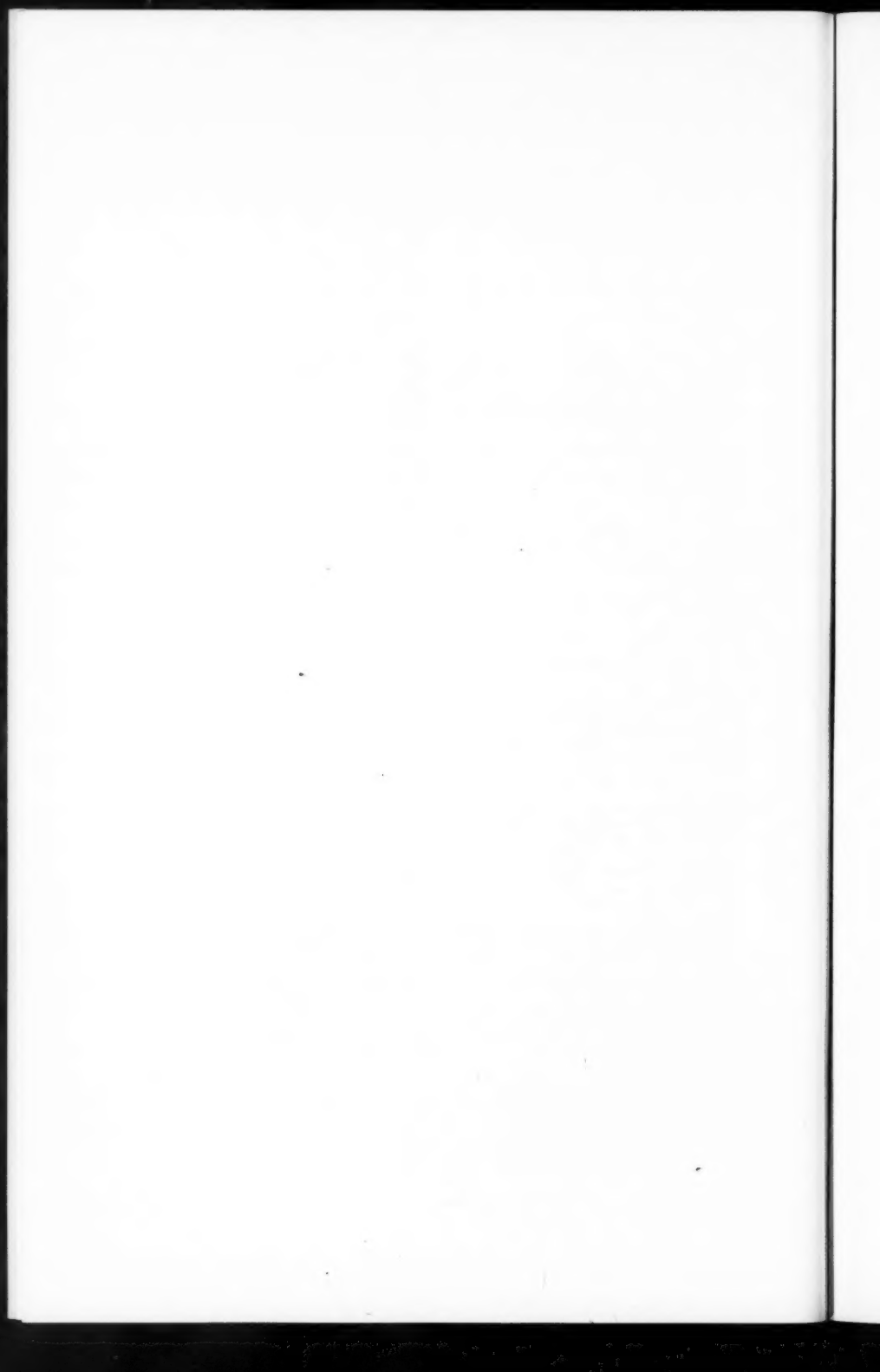
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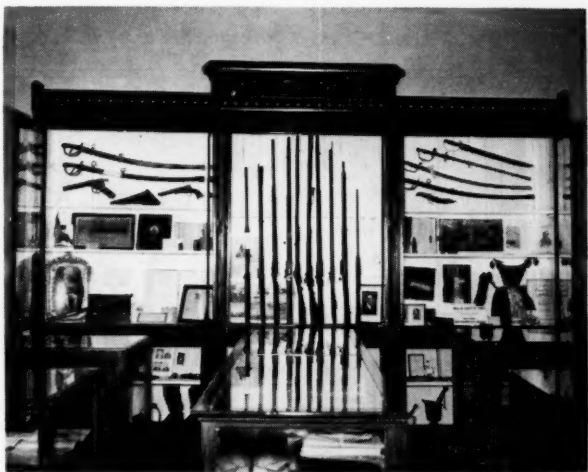
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*Cape Girardeau County Historical Society*

### **CAPE GIRARDEAU COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY MUSEUM**

In December, 1960, the city council of Cape Girardeau agreed to share equally with the county court the cost of partitioning and painting an area on the second floor of the old Cape Girardeau courthouse to serve as a museum.

Construction and decoration were completed in January, 1961, and members of the Cape Girardeau County Historical Society immediately began to prepare the museum for the public.

The museum is decorated in soft, subdued colors, forming an appropriate setting for the solid cherry cabinets which cover three walls. An open cabinet at one end of the room provides space for heavy objects. Four glass cases, which offer protection and visibility for valuable items, complete the fittings of the room.

Members of the society previewed the museum at their quarterly meeting on May 6 and held an open house for the public on May 28.

City and county officials and members of the society are to be congratulated on this step toward the preservation of materials important to the history of the area.



*Rombauer, Union Cause in St. Louis*

FAMOUS  
PERSONAGES OF  
THE CIVIL WAR  
IN MISSOURI

**Nathaniel Lyon**

Nathaniel Lyon appeared on the Missouri scene for only six months, but his aggressive action kept Missouri in the Union, drove Governor Claiborne F. Jackson into exile, and brought civil war with strife and bloodshed to the State. And on his death he willed his estate of \$50,000 to the Federal Government, to which he was sincerely devoted.

Born in Connecticut on July 14, 1818, Lyon graduated from the United States Military Academy in 1841. After assignments in Florida and at Sacketts Harbor on Lake Ontario, he served with distinction in the Mexican War, when he was commissioned a first lieutenant. He rose to captain in 1851 and, after a brief stay in California, was transferred to Kansas, where he spent most of 1854-1860, developing an intense dislike for the pro-slave element. While there he also wrote a number of political articles in which he condemned Senator Stephen A. Douglas and President James Buchanan and praised the new Republican Party.

On February 6, 1861, he was assigned to the St. Louis Arsenal, and he soon won the confidence of Francis P. Blair, Jr., and other influential Republicans. In May, Lyon became a brigadier general and was given command of Union forces in St. Louis. He quickly seized Camp Jackson and built up volunteers to the Union forces.

Lyon met with Sterling Price, Governor Jackson, and Blair at Planters' Hotel, St. Louis, on June 12, completely dominated the four-hour conference, and at the end concluded that "This means war."

On June 13 Lyon moved up the Missouri River with 2,000 troops, took Jefferson City on June 15, and captured Boonville on June 17. He then marched to the southwest in pursuit of the State forces, reaching Springfield on July 13. On August 9 he decided to attack Price's large Confederate force camped on Wilson's Creek and the following day was killed while leading his troops.

Lyon in death achieved note throughout the country as a martyr to the cause of the Union.



